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RECONSTRUCTION—OBSTACLES AND PROGRESS CONSIDERED.

[BY A SOUTHERN STATESMAN.]

The condition of public affairs in Arkansas, Louisiana, and South Carolina suggests inquiry whether the policy of reconstruction has been wise and successful. The disreputable occurrences in those States indicate an unfavorable political condition, but may not warrant a hasty judgment either upon the social or political prospect in the localities themselves or in the South at large.

Instances are not wanting in history of social progress consisting with political turmoil. A public policy founded in justice and right may not move on successfully at times. It may be opposed by a host of obstacles. It may encounter tribulations severely trying to the faith of those whose trust in the right had induced them to inaugurate the policy. Its enemies may succeed in bringing confusion and doubt, possibly disgust and odium, upon the experiment. But good men should not lose faith too soon in a good cause.

Many of the agents of the policy of reconstruction may have been derelict; of these the good should be distinguished from the bad, and only the bad condemned. There may be defects in the policy needing and susceptible of correction; these should be distinguished from those features apparently defective, which the ability and audacity of its enemies may

have brought into question. The many great and good results which the policy may be quietly working out should not be overlooked or forgotten in the clamor which hostile partisanship, race antipathy, and sectional hatred may raise over venial and temporary evils.

The task of conquering the Confederacy and saving the Union was a difficult one. That of reconstructing the Union was more difficult, and as delicate as difficult. If the policy adopted was founded upon right and just principles; if it was adopted from right motives, and if it has been executed honestly on the part of the nation; then, sooner or later, it will vindicate itself; then results and consequences may be safely left to take care of themselves.

The case of the lately insurgent States at the close of the civil war was novel and difficult. A race, numbering five millions of souls, had been released from a bondage of two hundred years. In the exuberance and exultation of feeling natural to their case, there was danger of great license and excesses. Another race numbering five millions of souls, living in the same society, was in the opposite state of feeling. Pecuniary ruin, political disappointment, military defeat, and the shame of subjugation combined to fill the lately dominant

race with resentment and exasperation.

These two races, practically equal in numbers, thus contrasted in their feelings, and thus antagonized in their political and social relations, presented a condition of society, social and political, never before paralleled on as large a scale and conspicuous a theater. When we contemplate the critical and most unhelpful condition of affairs then existing and since undergoing gradual improvement, so far from being discouraged or disgusted by the untoward occurrences which we have had to witness in a few localities, we should not fail to be thankful for the quiet, order, and success, however limited, which has attended the progress of the work of reconstruction.

Let us not forget that the experiment of popular equality and popular rule in modern times has always been hazardous, and, except with us, always unsuccessful.

It failed when tried in France at the close of the last century. It has been tried in all the Central and South American republics, and may be adjudged to have virtually failed in all. Spain has just now tried it without success; and the experiment a second time progressing in France does not present as hopeful a prospect even as that of Louisiana, Arkansas, and South Carolina. There, too, no race question intervened to complicate and embitter the effort. We may deplore the exceptional instances of temporary failure in the United States; but it would be as unphilosophical as disloyal for a citizen of the Union to dispair of the Republic because of them.

The fundamental inquiry on this whole subject is, Has the policy of reconstruction been just and right in principle? If it has been so, then, even though it fails here and there, and is unfaithfully or improperly executed in this or that locality, yet the policy should be sustained, and only its agents, where they have been derelict, condemned. If the policy be just and right then it can not

finally fail; then it must be enforced though the heavens fall; then, even though South Carolina, Arkansas, and Louisiana perish before it, justice must be done.

The necessary result of the triumph of the nation over the section in the late contest of arms was the emancipation of the five millions of people who had been slaves. This result was accepted as inevitable even by the dominant class in the insurgent States. Nowhere in a single instance has any man there or elsewhere had the hardihood to pretend that emancipation was not the expected, necessary, or accepted result of the suppression of the Confederacy. A leading question put in issue and a leading part of the verdict of the trial of battle between the sections was the emancipation of the slaves. When the work of reconstruction commenced the first question which naturally arose was, How shall the fact of perpetual emancipation be officially attested? The most obvious form of attestation was by means of a solemn article of the National Constitution; and so the thirteenth amendment was added to that instrument. It was adopted with less opposition and a more universal conviction of its necessity and expediency than had attended the adoption of the Constitution itself, or of any one of the previous twelve articles of amendment. Emancipation was not only recognized as a fact, achieved by the national arms, but it was universally conceded to be a just and right measure of reconstruction, deserving that solemn registration as part of the organic law of the nation which it received.

This grave matter being disposed of, the difficult and perplexing question of statesmanship then arose, What shall be done with the five millions of people whose freedom had been decreed? Was their status to be that of serfs; peons; mere inhabitants; a freed but disfranchised class; subject to the laws without voice in tempering or adapting them to their own condition; freedmen but not freemen; residents and not citizens?

The statesmanship of the South, baffled at the incongruity of such a state of things, could propose no better solution of this grave problem than that of exiling these people to some other region of the earth. Such a scheme was liable to two objections:

1. It would have been impracticable to remove so large a population, the physical task being beyond the capacity of the nation, exhausted by a destructive civil war, and the pecuniary cost being likely to approximate that which had attended the war just ended. No such feat was ever performed in the history of nations as the deportation and exile from one soil to a distant one of five millions of people, embracing all ages and sexes. It was not only stupendously impracticable, but—

2. It was a brutal expedient, contrary to natural and political right. The ancestry of this population had been transported here by compulsion, and had acquired all the natural and political rights of residence and inhabitancy which such an emigration, followed by an occupancy of two hundred years, could confer. Besides, there was this consideration, that if the planting of this population on American soil were regarded as an ordination of an all-wise Providence its deportation would not only be against natural and political right, but would violate the providential purpose (whatever that might be) of its original coming, its growth, and its long residence on the soil. The proposition was not only monstrous and impracticable, but in all probability it was also impious.

Therefore, deportation was not to be thought of. The race was to remain, and the fact of its remaining was accepted by the nation as a logical and inevitable result. Indeed, as a measure of moral justice and political right, the continued residence of the race in the country was as fully acceded to as emancipation itself had been. And, therefore, the question, What shall be done with the colored people, took another form, to wit: What shall be the *status*

here of this five millions of permanent inhabitants of the country?

There could be, in the eye of logic, law, and right, but one answer to this question in a country whose government was conducted on the broad principle of popular equality. The nation determined that the emancipated race should have the benefit of this fundamental principle of the American polity. It was a generous view of duty which it acted upon in giving this solution to the question; but it was also a necessary view. The law of political existence with us is couched in the immortal phrases of the Declaration of 1776, that "all men are created equal," and that "governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed." Our liberties were won and our institutions founded on those principles. It was not only magnanimous to admit the enfranchised race to the full benefit of the fundamental doctrines of popular equality and popular rule, but it was a logical necessity. These doctrines had been successfully resisted in their application to the colored race while they were deemed fit only to be slaves; but when once five millions of people became freemen no rule of right and justice could be found in our political casuistry which would sanction their disfranchisement on the score of the mere color of the skin.

The nation had had enough of a policy of wrong-doing in its experience of slavery; and had suffered enough of penalty in the civil convulsion which resulted. The four years of sectional war had been the Nemesis of the previous two hundred years of wrong. A modern writer expresses, what our own history had taught, with fearful emphasis:

"One lesson history may be said to repeat with distinctness—that the world is built somehow on moral foundations; that in the long run, it is well with the good; in the long run, it is ill with the wicked. A voice forever sounds across the centuries the laws of right and wrong. Opinions alter, manners change, creeds rise and fall, but the moral law is written on the tablets of eternity.

For every false word or unrighteous deed, for cruelty and oppression, for lust and vanity, the price has to be paid at last; not always by the chief offenders, but paid by some one. Justice and truth alone endure and live. Injustice and falsehood may be long lived, but doom-day comes at last to them, in French revolutions, and other terrible ways."

During the first twenty-five years of the national existence the wrong of slavery, caste, and class had not clearly shown itself. During the second twenty-five years it began gradually to threaten serious dangers to the national peace. And, finally, the shame of slavery became so flagrant, and so afflicting to the national conscience, as to work out its punishment in civil war, its retribution in the successful result of that war. The country emerged from the civil convulsion as the earth emerged from the flood; and the thirteenth constitutional amendment, declaring that slavery should never again curse the Republic, that this cause should never again drench the land in blood, stood like the bow of promise which God put in the heavens after the deluge "as a covenant that the waters should be no more a flood to destroy all flesh."

That clause of the fourteenth amendment which relates to the *status* of the inhabitants of the United States was a logical consequent of the thirteenth amendment. It elevates the colored race to citizenship. It applies to it the principle of popular and political equality. It makes these people citizens by virtue of their being inhabitants.

This amendment was a necessary part of the policy of reconstruction. Elsewhere governments rest upon power and prescription. Monarchies, even the most liberal, imperial governments, whatever their origin, and however dependent upon popular caprice, stand, nevertheless, by their power and prestige; preference and privilege being the law of their existence. They are maintained in chief part by the violation of political justice and right.

But a government like ours, resting,

and professing to rest, upon these supreme principles, must of necessity respect them in its organic law and action. If it be true that all men are created equal; if it be true that governments derive their powers from the consent of the governed, then it was monstrous to enact in the presence of five millions of people having colored skins that only white men shall be endowed with the rights of citizens. Certainly no popular government can afford to embrace five millions of people within its constituency in whose hearts there is perpetual and rankling protest against its own arbitrary violation of its own fundamental axioms of political justice.

That clause of the fourteenth amendment declaring that "all persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside," was therefore a necessary part of the policy of reconstruction, founded on those principles of equality and justice which are the law of the national being.

Not only did the consideration of consistency require this measure, but it was also required by the most exigent considerations of practical expediency. The mere abolition of slavery would have availed nothing to the national character, and nothing to the emancipated race, if these people had been thrown poor and helpless upon society with a condition of existence worse than the former servitude, in the fact of their being enthralled *en masse*, and bereft individually of the protection, care, and friendship which interest had secured to them from their individual masters.

Since man undertook the conduct of society upon a basis of law and order; since human intelligence has been employed upon the problems of political science, no more effective conservator of civil rights, no safer protection from political oppression has been found than the ballot. With this, classes and creeds, races and castes are comparatively safe from enduring wrong. Without this,

the degree of injustice inflicted is measured only by the interest, the impunity, or the caprice of the possessors of power. Without citizenship the colored race in America would have sunk into a condition of poverty, ignorance, abject dependence, and hopeless wretchedness from which they would have looked back upon slavery with longing regret. In complete misery they would have bitterly cursed the very name of liberty. Imagination can scarcely conceive the oppressions and degradations that would have attended their fate. The present disorders in Arkansas, Louisiana, and South Carolina simply vex and disgust; but how deplorable would be the picture—not merely in three localities but throughout the great region which they inhabit—if the colored people had been denied that suffrage to which the enemies of the boon would persuade us falsely to ascribe the disorders in those States! Better the merely temporary and local villainies and scandals which we witness there, admitting of ready correction, than the general misery, suffering, and shame which the picture of five millions of beings would present, without lands to cultivate or laws for their protection; without rights or powers, pride or hope; without friends or favor, strangers to every form of sympathy; aliens upon their native soil; another race of Ishmael, but not hating though hated; with every man's hand raised against them, and their own palsied by dependence, destitution, and despair. Far better than a spectacle of this sort that we should have more than one Carolina, Louisiana, and Arkansas; for in these latter cases the villainies are individual and may be punished, in the other cases they would be collective, national, and chronic.

A sample of the legislation which the Confederate States made haste to enact against this race after their liberation from slavery is seen in the vagrant act of Mississippi, passed in the fall of 1865. That law provided that all freedmen, free negroes, and mulattoes, over the age

of eighteen years, who should be found, on the 2d Monday of January, 1866, or thereafter, with no lawful employment or business, should be declared vagrants, and on conviction thereof might be fined not exceeding fifty dollars, and imprisoned not more than ten days, and in the event that the fine should not be paid in five days then the sheriff should hire out the freedman until his wages should discharge the fine and costs.

Another law of the same State, conceived in the same spirit, was enacted in the fall of 1865. It provided that each freedman, on the 1st day of January in each year, should have a lawful home or employment, and written evidence of the fact in the form of a license issued by the proper authorities. All contracts with freedmen for longer than a month should be in writing. If the laborer quit his service before the time stipulated he forfeited his wages up to the time of leaving. Any person might arrest him and carry him back to his employer and compel him to pay a fee of five dollars for the act, and ten cents a mile for the distance traveled. A warrant might also be issued by the employer for the freedman's arrest, which warrant would run in any county of the State, all the expenses of the capture being chargeable to the fugitive. If any person gave to the fugitive food or raiment, there was a penalty imposed upon the charity ranging from twenty five to two hundred dollars, and the offending person could be compelled to the instant payment of it with costs, on the pain of two months' imprisonment. Enticing a freedman from service was punishable by fine of five hundred dollars and imprisonment. A general provision authorized a sheriff to sell the services of any freedman, sentenced to any fine and forfeiture, for the payment of the same. In the face of such laws as these, not confined to a single State, can it be denied that the nation was bound by the most solemn obligations of duty and justice to adopt that provision of the fourteenth amendment which declares that "no State shall

abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States, nor deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

In granting citizenship and suffrage to the emancipated race as a protection from such oppression, the nation enjoys *the consciousness of having done right*. It has dealt justly with a deserving class, numbering one-seventh of its aggregate population. The policy it adopted is one to be continued and enforced, cherished and maintained. There is no reason for regret or palliation in regard to it. It can not be abandoned; it must be upheld in the face of every obstacle. Abuses must indeed be reformed, evils must be corrected, and derelictions punished; but cavil and remonstrance against the policy itself must be discountenanced, and every form of seditious opposition to it firmly suppressed.

The thirteenth amendment was a record of the perpetual abolition of slavery in the United States. The fourteenth amendment made the colored people citizens; conferred upon them all the rights of citizens, and forbade the abridgment of the privileges and immunities attaching to the character of citizens. But it was found in practice that a mere declaratory article did not accomplish the whole purpose of the latter amendment. The State rights school of politicians were not precluded from bringing to bear the powers of the States upon the franchise of suffrage, in prejudice of the equal right of the colored man to the exercise of that high function of the citizen. Their extreme doctrine of secession had been destroyed in the civil conflict; but they still insisted upon all those rights for the States, short of secession, which they had been wont to claim in the more propitious era of their doctrines.

After the adoption of the fourteenth amendment it was no longer competent for the States to deny citizenship to any class of native born or naturalized in-

habitants; but within their own borders they still retained power over the right of suffrage, and over the qualification of citizens for the exercise of political franchises. Impressed with the importance of preserving the right of suffrage unrestricted, to the newly made citizens, the nation concluded its great work of reconstruction by adding the fifteenth amendment to the Constitution, whereby it was declared that "the right of citizens to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude."

We have now recapitulated the measures which were adopted by the nation in the progress of reconstructing the Union after the war of secession. Not a single article of the series was adopted in haste, in anger, in revenge, or in the spirit of reproach. None of them were framed with reference to the past. The nation was full of hope and confidence in its future destiny. The political skies were bright and glowing. It looked to a future of harmony and fraternity. It was full of the temper of forgiveness and indulgence toward the subdued section. It was actuated by a spirit of the most considerate forbearance toward the conquered States. In what it did it looked to the good of all, and the rights of all in the future. It sought no indemnity for the past. In providing security for the future it took no thought of the agents of the recent civil convulsion or their acts; it adopted only those measures which would have been proper guarantees of future harmony, peace, and progress, if there had been no previous struggle of sections and classes. Each measure adopted was in itself just and wise, right as between nation and section, right as between nation and class, right as between section and section, class and class. The measures adopted were so thoroughly right that their adoption had been a political and moral necessity, so right that the omission to adopt them would have been grossly wrong.

Such, therefore, is the standpoint from which the disorders in some of the Southern States are to be considered. The idea is not to be entertained for a moment, whether the disreputable occurrences warrant an abrogation and abandonment of the policy of reconstruction. That policy is final and unchangeable. The three articles of the Constitution which embody it are as irrevocable as the most sacred provisions of that instrument, and will stand as long as the Constitution itself shall stand, or the government founded upon it shall endure.

The prominent, central fact connected with all recent political transactions in the reconstructed States is this, that whatever disreputable, corrupt, seditious, or illegal acts have been committed there, have invariably been the acts of white men, rarely countenanced or participated in by the colored people in the most indirect manner. The responsibility of all these transactions has been upon white men, the negroes acting, when acting at all, only as dupes or subordinate instruments.

Nothing has occurred in the career of the reconstruction policy to bring into question any principle or measure of that policy. The conduct of the newly-made citizens has been exemplary in the highest degree, and worthy of unqualified commendation. There has been nothing in their deportment as members of society and as members of the body-politic to show that citizenship and suffrage have been unworthily conferred, or have been abused by them. It is not they who have perverted the ballot-box into little else than an instrument of fraud and outrage in those States. It is not they who invented the ingenious schemes of legal thievery which were in vogue in South Carolina until the credit of the State was sapped and its treasury exhausted. Neither Brooks nor Baxter nor the judges of the supreme bench of Arkansas were negroes. The Kelloggs and McEnieries of Louisiana have white skins. Scott and Moses and Butts, in

South Carolina, are of the white race. The fiendish deeds of the Ku Klux Klans were perpetrated by white men, under the protection and patronage of an organization boasting to embrace upon its rolls half a million of the best white bloods of the lately insurgent States. The men who, in broad daylight, in the capital of Virginia, wrested from election officers the ballot box, containing ballots that gave the city offices to a different set of men from those who were falsely declared to be elected, and who were fraudulently installed into office, were white men, of the sworn police of the city, notoriously known; and it was white judicial officers and a white grand jury who allowed the act to go unpunished and unnoticed. It was not because of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth amendments, or by the especial beneficiaries of those measures, that the villainies and outrages which have been perpetrated in the reconstructed States were committed. The fault is not with the policy of reconstruction, nor with the race which was the immediate recipient of citizenship and suffrage under it. History affords no example of the conduct of an oppressed race so exemplary in all respects as that of the colored race of this country has been. In its long servitude of two hundred years no such thing as a negro insurrection at all threatening to the stability of society was known. Its loyalty to the master race during that whole period was absolute and unvaried. During the late civil war the fortunes of the Confederacy could have been terminated at any time in a single day by an outbreak of the slaves; but the African servant remained loyal to the condition in which the laws of his country held him, and waited patiently for the only deliverance which he would accept—the deliverance of the law.

His freedom was not his own achievement, effected by treachery to his master, or by breach of any part of his duty even under the slave code. And now he exercises his legal and political rights

with meekness and moderation. The negro majority never violates the white man's right of suffrage; it is always the negro himself who is wronged in this regard.

There have been many thousands of instances in which individual colored men have been prevented by fraud and violence from the "free exercise of the right of suffrage," in which those who were guilty of the wrong done became liable to these men in civil actions for the pecuniary penalties prescribed by the enforcement act of Congress. Yet there has been scarcely an instance in which the colored voter has used this method of redress and sought this species of compensation. They have rejected with disdain all idea of pecuniary compensation. They have demanded only the protection of their rights under the laws of their country.

In their social relations their conduct has been equally exemplary. They have been guilty of no insolence toward their late masters. They have been uniformly respectful in all their behavior; neither in their general deportment, nor in their religious exercises, nor in the performance of their political functions, nor in any of their demeanor have they been insolent, or ill mannered, or ill natured.

Space is not afforded in the present article for a full exposition of the progress which this race has made in the departments of social and mental improvement.

The success of the educational movement among them in the Southern States has been all that its friends could expect or reasonably desire. There is scarcely a State or a city which does not contain conspicuous and substantial evidences of munificent provision for the education of the race and of a general and deep interest felt and manifested on its own part in the work. It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that the mass of negro youths are making more progress in education than those of the poorer order of whites. The census tables for 1870, however, reveal a frightful state

of ignorance among the laboring classes of both races in the South, loudly demanding correction. The colored people are too poor, the community itself is too poor in that section of the Union to support a vigorous and prosperous public school establishment. And the question becomes more and more one of the gravest character, whether it is not a national duty to provide for the maintenance of such an establishment in the reconstructed States.

The founding of those governments on the basis of popular equality and popular rule seems to demand of the power which established them an adequate provision for the general education of the suffragans. If the local communities are at present, and are likely to remain for some time, too poor to sustain such a system, the duty of doing so is imperatively devolved upon the General Government. The impetus given by the Freedmen's Bureau, in the few years of its existence after the war, to the educational movement among the negroes was very great, and the good effects of it will be felt by the race for many years to come. It has had a happy influence upon public opinion in the Southern States, and disposed the white people to favor and expect a more general action by the National Government in the cause of education in that section.

Industrially the negroes are doing as well in their state of freedom as they did in slavery. The crops of cotton, rice, and tobacco are almost as large since the war as they were before. They are comparatively larger; for during the period of the civil conflict vast areas of land, which before had been reclaimed from the swamp and the forest, went back into waste, and the destruction of levees on the Mississippi and some of its tributaries has curtailed the cotton and sugar regions of a very large proportion of their former best lands. When allowance is made for this loss of soil it will be found that the labor product of the Southern States is greater under the system of free labor than it was under

that of slave labor. This fact is conclusive on the whole question of American slavery, emancipation, and reconstruction.

Socially and industrially there can be no denial of the fact that the negro race is doing better at present than ever before. They are better clad, as well fed, are more moral, more strict in the observance and in requiring the observance of the marital obligation, and in every respect more respectable and prosperous than ever, and instead of relapsing into barbarism, as is pretended by some, their progress in the path of civilization is marked and most gratifying. There is scarcely a neighborhood of the Southern States in which the traveler may not any day observe neatly dressed negro children, books in hand, wending their way to school. Such a front figure in the picture unmistakably indicates all that is in the background at home: industry, the spirit of thrift and improvement, a strong sense of paternal obligation, and a determination to rise in the world by the sure means of an industrious and exemplary life.

Truth requires it to be said that this general improvement in the condition of the colored race has been without the aid of the native white population, and generally in spite of the opposition of that class. This opposition is so strong that many humane and philanthropic whites of both sexes, who, recognizing their obligation in this direction, would be active in the work of ameliorating the condition of the negro population, are prevented by the intolerance of the community from thus bestowing their labors. Still, the blacks owe nearly all that has been done to white people.

The agents of the Freedman's Bureau set the movement on foot, and a noble host of philanthropic, self-sacrificing missionaries from the Northern States, of both sexes, have supplemented the achievements of that valuable and too short-lived institution.

The system of measures which have been taken in this direction is, however,

not self-sustaining; and for many years to come the machinery for advancing the negro race in civilization must continue to be inspired and impelled from the same extraneous source.

In truth, there are no difficulties in the way of the triumphant success of the policy of reconstruction in all its relations to both races of the Southern population and to both sections of the Union, except those which arise in politics.

Bad men and bad advisers do often lead the negroes, who in the main desire to vote properly and to properly perform their duty to race and country, into mistaken courses and vicious actions. Yet, in the main, they have behaved in an exemplary manner in their conduct as members of a political party; and the charges against them, when closely analyzed, amount to nothing more than that they support with blind devotion the principles of that reconstruction policy of the Government under which they enjoy freedom, citizenship, and immunity from oppression.

The misfortune of the case of the negro voters of the South is that so few of the native men of their country have dared so far to face the social prejudice and proscription necessary to be encountered as to consent to act and advise with them in their political proceedings. The late Governor Orr, of South Carolina, one of the few native men of prominence and talents who braved the prejudices of race and dared to co-operate with the negroes in their political proceedings, indicates the whole difficulty of Southern politics in the following paragraph taken from a speech in 1870:

"Suppose one hundred of the most intelligent white citizens in each county of the State had gone with good faith and frank sincerity into the Republican organization. Can it be doubted that their intelligence and moral strength would have secured honest nominees? If members of the last Legislature were corrupt, would not such an influence have defeated their nomination? Who can doubt it? This would have been

effective and practical reform, and it would have gone a great way to break down that distrust which the colored people felt toward the native whites."

The whole disease of Southern politics and the sovereign remedy for it is indicated in the words we have just quoted. Even five native white men in each county would suffice. But good men of that region, native, able, and influential, except in rare instances of moral courage and self-sacrifice, have not dared to act upon the suggestion of Governor Orr, the propriety of which has painfully occurred to thousands of native men. What was the natural consequence but this: That the negroes have received their instruction and leadership in politics from strangers to the soil? While admitting that many of these strangers (who have received the universal cognomen of "carpet-baggers") have been adventurers of the worst type, yet it would be unjust to confound such characters with the thousands of honest men who have gone from the North into the Southern States with honest motives, and who have proved benefactors to the negroes and valuable acquisitions of that region.

Mr. Greeley made a just discrimination on this subject, in 1871, in a speech delivered after his visit to Texas and the South, when he said:

"Fellow citizens: all the Northern men at the South are not thieves. The larger part of them are honest and good men. Some of them stay there at the peril of their lives because they believe it their duty. Next to the noble and true women who have gone down South to teach black children how to read—nobler there are not on earth than these, whom a stupid, malignant, dilapidated aristocracy often sees fit to crowd into negro hovels to live, not allowing them to enter any white society because they are teaching negro children—next to those who rank as the noblest women in the South are the honest and worthy Northern men, who, in the face of social proscription and general obloquy and scorn, stand firmly by the Republican cause. The public is often heedlessly unjust. Let a government have 10,000 official subordinates in power, of whom 9,900 are honest, true men, who do their

duty faithfully, while barely a hundred are robbers and plunderers, the public will hear a great deal more about the hundred robbers than about the nine thousand nine hundred true men. The one hundred stand out in the public eye—they are always doing something which exposes them to the scornful gaze of the multitude, while the honest and true men pass along silent and unobserved, and nothing is said, very little is thought about them. All attention is concentrated upon the hundred who are defrauding, and stealing, and forging, and running away."

This is a just and true statement of the case, and yet the fact remains, that most of the scandals and villainies of reconstruction are the joint product of two causes: first the dishonesty of carpet-bag politicians assuming political control of the negroes; second, the refusal of honest and able native whites, under the fear of social proscription, to advise and co-operate with the negroes.

These two causes resolve themselves at last, however, into one, and that is, the resentful refusal of native whites to divest themselves of all feeling toward the liberated class which tends to antagonism, injustice, and oppression, and themselves to enter upon that work of social amelioration and benefaction which is now left to strangers. The writer of this article has often appealed against this course. The following paragraphs, published in 1872, indicates the feelings and prejudices which have to be combatted among the natives of every Southern State; and but for which such disorders as have occurred in South Carolina, Louisiana, and Arkansas would have been unknown:

"There has been nothing in the deportment, character, or career of the colored man to excite against him the hostility of the whites. There has been everything in his history to win for him their respect and sympathy and to command for him their best offices. And when the time came to invest him with the franchises of citizenship, the white men of the South, whose faithful friend and servant he had been, should have been the men to stand forward as his benefactors.

"It is not too late to change our poli-

cy in this respect and certainly there is no direction in which we can accomplish so much for the public prosperity and happiness as in a policy of liberal dealing toward the colored race.

"Frederika Bremer said many years ago that the fate of the negro was the romance of American history.' It is much more. It is the basis of all American policy. It differs our policy from that of every country and every historical period. No public measure can be considered in the South, or even in the Union, except in direct connection with its relation to the colored element of our society. The basis questions, preceding in importance and underlying all other questions of State policy, are: Shall we address ourselves in earnest sincerity to the duty of educating and fitting the colored man for the status of citizenship? What are the best measures for doing so?

"If we accept this duty, and address ourselves honestly to it, then there will be no necessity for the invidious intrusion of strangers between ourselves and the colored man; then we shall have the best laboring population in the world, which will attract capital, enterprise, and population into our borders; which will be no longer the object of dread and repulsion to all desirable immigration. It is our highest policy to elevate the status and improve the moral, intellectual, and social condition of our long-neglected colored population.

"But this duty rests on still higher grounds than the material advantage which it would bring to the Commonwealth. The natural friends, protectors, and educators of the colored race are the native whites of the South. Their fate has been linked to ours by an all-wise and just Providence since the colonization of the continent; and it will remain so linked for weal or woe to the end of American history. The Eye of that Providence, whose designs we know not, but whose designs are just, is upon us in our dealings with the colored race; and it would be infidel not to believe that our people and our State shall prosper or not according as we shall perform the duties which a beneficent but exacting Providence devolves upon us in this behalf. Our destinies being indissolubly linked with those of the colored race we must consider our duty to it from the standpoint of right, and pursue it with an abiding faith that in the end it will be prosperous.

"All intelligent minds believe that there are laws of order which govern the physical world, asserting themselves

in storm and earthquake as well as in the succession of day and night, of seed time and harvest. Are not men and States under a divine order as well as natural things? Is there not a law of right doing, founded upon the Supreme Will, as sure and as abiding as the law of gravitation? Does not this law of divine order, under which human beings live, assert itself as surely in the fortunes of men and States as the divine order in nature asserts itself through the invisible powers of earth, sea, and sky? When we believe this in very truth we have in our hands the clew to human history; and we may read the fate of our State in the text of the actions of her people.

"We, the whites of the South, have long baffled with this irrepressible law of right in regard to the colored race. I believe history—assuming the inability of the master class to abolish slavery by their own act—will accord to us a large humanity in our treatment of the slave. But I do fear its verdict upon our policy toward the colored man since his emancipation. Let us not forget that the law of right doing is in full activity, and that our State can not escape the consequences of the policy we may pursue in regard to the colored race. We must continue to wrestle with this question of duty until it is properly settled; or it will rise up again, and again, to paralyze and torment us, refusing to give us any peace. If we have wisdom and courage enough amongst us to do the right to the colored man, we prepare a future of clear skies for Virginia; and by the example we set shall open the prospect of a brighter future to her sisters of the South. But if we have not that courage, the clouds which have hung over us will remain and thicken, the atmosphere will continue heavy, and the storm will break, until the right is settled against us in social misery, civil decay, and physical desolation.

"Much more than 'the romance of our history is the fate of the negro.' It is the fate of the State itself. He is not here by accident or intrusion; but as part of those arrangements of Providence which planted our own race on these shores. If we treat him as an intruder we prepare a future of proserption and discord for the State, and bring into activity every agency of political decline. If we deal with him according to the fact—as part of society, part of the State, as a man and a citizen—we shall find an abundant recompense in the harmony of society, the mutual good will of classes, and the wealth of feeling

and resources which springs from laudable emulations and co-operative exertions; we shall find a profitable recompense, as surely as right prevails over wrong in the career of nations, and as justice shall reign in the advanced civilization of the eras before us."

Whether such appeals will ever prove effective we confess is a matter of painful and growing doubt. It may require longer time for the extinguishment of those resentments and hatreds which the events that have occurred since 1861 have kindled in the bosoms of the native Southern white.

Probably the present generation will have to pass away from the earth before the embers of resentment, hatred, and intolerance can altogether expire. When passions of this sort become chronic, it is probably useless to expect their correction by any other medication than that sovereign one which Providence in its abundant mercy sends to bless and reform the earth. It is from the pulpit that the following eloquent truths have been spoken:

"Death is the friend of the world. Improvement is the great law of existence, and the improvement of the world is secured by that order of Providence which sweeps successive generations away. As each generation passes some of its prejudices, errors, and sins are buried with it, while its improvement remains and is preserved in the great treasures of the human mind and heart. Death is the great reformer; it is continually removing those obstacles which prevent the world from advancing. There was a time when the wickedness of man was great, and God removed it by a sudden and universal flood. And he is now doing the same thing, not suddenly, but in the daily order of nature—all are carried away as with a flood. And sure it is easier to direct the opening mind than to reform the old. Since those evil habits which became so strong in fifty years would become invincible in five hundred, it is well that one generation passeth away and another cometh. Without this succession there would be no improvement, no advance, no hope for the race of man.

"But you say, it is not so with the good—the world loses something when they die. It does, indeed; but it does not lose the effect of their services, it does

not lose the benefit of their example. On the contrary, the dying can make an impression on many whom the living can not reach. There is no eloquence like that of the dying tongue. It commands attention and teaches lessons which even the thoughtless can not forget. And when the righteous are gone from the living, they do not lose their power. Though dead, they yet speak. Their instructions, affectionately remembered, have more power than in the day when they were given."

If rightful measures, founded upon enduring principles of justice, do not vindicate themselves against seditious hostility—if the docile character of the colored people, with the recollection of their loyal and peaceful obedience during centuries of servitude, do not conciliate their former masters to a toleration of their freedom and citizenship; if the obvious good which must plainly result to both races and to the common community that Providence has constituted of the two, from the cultivation of kindly relations of mutual good-will do not soften the prejudices, antipathies, and resentments of the dominant class, then there is a remedy for the condition of the South which we must await with patience, and may trust to with confidence—the remedy which God in His love and mercy provides for men and nations in cases of the sort.

ROBERT TOOMBS says he has been "asked to run for Congress by a great many gentlemen of the district" in which he lives. But he is not moved to do so; he declines; he would not take a nomination, he says, "if every man, woman, and child in the district should rise up and press it upon me." And he gives his reasons as follows: "I hate the Government of the United States and would give my life to overthrow it. It is a question of honor with me. I hate the Government and I despise its disciples."

A NORTHERN writer, traveling in the South, writes, "that the old impracticable politicians in that section are either passing away or losing their hold on the people, and new men, with new ideas, formed not on the theories of slavery, but moulded to suit the new condition of things, are coming forward."

HOW THE "INDEPENDENT" NEWSPAPER MAKES OPINION.

The New York *Herald* recently published the following :

Jones, of Nevada, is at Long Branch. He has a team of four horses and a brilliant complexion. Jones handles the ribbons with great success, and thus supplies in a measure the loss of Jim Fisk.

Now, this may be regarded as a witty paragraph of the personal kind. But let us see for a moment what it implies:

"Jim Fisk," judged only by the public facts of his notorious career, was essentially a vulgar fellow of small education, infinite audacity, rowdy manners, with low, coarse, and sensual tastes and habits, who became suddenly rich by the application of processes which should have landed him in a penitentiary, were it not that purchased legal talent was willing to show him how to plunder the public and avoid the law. "Jim Fisk" drove a "four-in-hand" filled with notorious demitrips, kept mistresses enough to furnish attraction for a first-class brothel, defied courts, employed hordes of bullies, and finally died by the bullet of an enemy, made so by quarrels over swindling operations and the possession of a notorious courtesan.

Senator Jones, of Nevada, is heralded over the country by the New York *Herald* as the successor of this infamous character. What is there in the career of the Senator to justify such a reference? Quite sufficient, we presume, in the opinion of "independent" journalists, in these three facts:

First. That he is a Senator in harmony with the Republican party.

Second. That he is a man of large wealth and considerable ability.

Third. That he is a personal friend of the President, who on one occasion chose to make the Senator a medium for communicating to the public some marked opinions on an important subject of great interest at the time.

These are reasons enough for the slurs of the New York *Herald*, the *Sun*, Chicago *Times*, and all of their class. It makes no difference that Mr. Jones is a gentleman whose reputation is not of yesterday; that he has lived these many years on the Pacific coast, as working miner, mine superintendent, and mine owner; that he has been known there as a prominent and talented Republican; that he was elected to the State Senate of California and other offices, and was at one time Republican nominee for Lieutenant Governor, running ahead of his ticket at the election. It is of no consequence that Mr. Jones has never been accused of being a public robber; that his wealth was made in productive enterprise, and not by the cunning of Wall-street speculation, which filches from many to enrich one; that he has proven himself the peer of his colleagues in the Senate chamber; that he is not coarse in taste, vulgar in manner, or sensual in habit; that he is a man of thought, with a wide range of reading and an exceptionally comprehensive grasp of the literature of political economy, not only here, but in Great Britain, France, and Germany; and that he has shown himself in every respect a level-headed, sagacious, able man, possessed with the worthy ambition of worthily occupying a large place in public affairs. All of these things are as nothing to the *Herald* editor, who desires to turn a paragraph with a pungent personal-ity.

The paragraph has traveled. Lies are centipedal—they have a hundred legs to convey them on their work of detraction. It is a pity to spoil the point on which rests the *Herald's* inferential slander. Mr. Jones did not drive a four-in-hand at Long Branch or anywhere else. He himself states that he never rode behind one in his life, except as a passenger in a stage coach, and could not

"handle the reins" with little or "great success." He modestly denies the accomplishment, with which the *Herald* credits him, in order to work his discredit. While at Long Branch the Senator kept very quiet, never drove but one horse himself, gave no parties, made no splurge, and lived at his hotel with his sister and other friends in the quiet dignity becoming his place and position. With these exceptions the New York

Herald's paragraph is eminently fair in inference and correct in fact.

But, seriously, is not this slander a striking proof of the manner in which public men are assailed? Does it not offer ample encouragement to honorable gentlemen to serve the public, sure as they will be of being branded by some "independent" journalist, as the "successor of Jim Fisk" or some as notorious a rascal?

SOUTHERN "WHITE LEAGUES" AND NORTHERN DEMOCRACY.

"White Leagues" and "Democratic Clubs" are, as their own organs admit, composed of the same individuals under different designations. The recently organized White Leagues of Louisiana, and other disaffected States in the South, and the Democracy of Indiana, which arraigned Senators Morton and Pratt for voting in favor of the civil rights bill, based on the provisions of the Constitution itself, and the Democratic party in New Hampshire and in Texas, who made an immediate removal of judges and other State officials as soon as opportunity was given, are all animated by the same political spirit and motives.

They recognize the fact that the only avenue to the control of the Federal offices is through the ballot-box, and if the colored citizens can not be induced to vote for the Democracy they must be deprived of the exercise of their franchise. A prominent Louisiana journal, the *People's Vindicator*, published at Natchitoches, July 18, in an editorial of two columns in length, addressed "To Our Colored Citizens," says:

"The white people *intend* to carry the State elections this fall; *this intention is deliberate and unalterable.*"

Again in the same paragraph we read: "Let it be distinctly remembered that you have fair warning, *that we intend to carry the State of Louisiana in November next, or she will be a military territory.*"

The italics are the writer's, not ours; and here in a couple of sentences we

have the deliberate announcement that in Louisiana the colored citizen shall no longer be allowed to exercise his constitutionally guaranteed prerogative of casting his vote for State or Federal representatives. This is the solemn declaration and sworn purpose of the White League, or reorganized Kuklux Democratic clubs of the State, as is shown by their own declarations, copied from the White League platform, published in the New Orleans *Picayune*, their acknowledged organ, as follows:

"We submit the platform of the Crescent City White League, believing that it can and will be made the platform of the white race in Louisiana:

"The Crescent City Democratic Club of 1868, having changed its name to that of 'Crescent City White League,' has thought that an explanation was due alike to its retired members and to the people of New Orleans of the motives of a change so seriously and so sadly suggestive."

And here is the explanation, or a fair sample of it:

"The negro has proved himself as destitute of common gratitude as of common sense. Instead of improving in his capacity to make an intelligent and patriotic use of the ballot, we do not hesitate to affirm that he is to-day less qualified for the duties of self-government than he was seven years ago."

It is strange to see the very men who have resisted the education of the colored race, and have driven their teachers from the State, now denouncing them

for their ignorance, and making that a reason for depriving them of their right to approach the ballot-box!

A similar spirit pervades the State of Texas. On the night of June 22, a band of fifteen armed men in Gaudaloupe county, Texas, took Mr. C. W. Washburn, one of the teachers of the public school in a colored settlement, from his bed, and tied him, when one of the number interceded for his life, and they finally inflicted one hundred lashes with a bull whip, and allowed him six days to leave the county. Mr. Washburn has been one of the teachers from the American Missionary Association for several years. *They informed him that "they would kill or drive off every white teacher of a day-school or Sunday-school who taught the negro; that this was a white man's country; that no negro should be taught; and that they meant yet to have him back in his old condition."*

On the following night a band of eight men, all masked with black muslin, and armed with six-shooters, went to the house of Mr. J. F. Gesner, near Seguin, Texas, and demanded admittance. Finding that resistance was useless, Mr. Gesner opened the door, when he was seized and dragged out into the yard and an attempt was made to put a rope about his neck. Upon shouting "murder," he was struck in the head with a six-shooter. The cry aroused the neighbors, and the men fled. The only offense of which he was guilty in the eyes of this gang of desperadoes was that of teaching a class in the Sunday school connected with the colored church. Mr. Gesner was compelled to leave that part of the State where he had hitherto resided and where his crop had been planted.

These are the legitimate fruits of Democracy in its hatred of the party that has labored for years to establish schools in the South and educate and elevate the communities without respect to race or color, and lead them to harmony and prosperity.

Now, instead of all this opposition, let us suppose that the prominent states-

men, planters, merchants, and mechanics of the South, or even a portion of them, had consulted their own interests, forgotten the past, recognized and accepted the changed condition, aided in the education and elevation of all classes alike; suppose that, in the further pursuit of their own interests, they had accepted the Republican policy and recognized the status guaranteed to the colored race by the Constitution, and treated them as citizens, making them feel that their political equality was an accepted fact and fully recognized—what would have been the result? What would have been the aspect of affairs in those States to-day?

In the first place statesmen "to the manner born," who had given evidence by their deeds of an earnest desire to aid in harmonizing the discordant elements, and in building up the material interests of their State, would have commanded the confidence and received the votes of their colored fellow-citizens. This would at once have placed them in power and given them the full control of State affairs, together with a full representation in the halls of Congress.

In the second place it would have guaranteed peace and harmony in all the now disaffected States; the schools organized by Northern men and Northern women would have been retained and increased in numbers and efficiency; the sable sons of the South, by increased intelligence, would have become better and more profitable servants; the way would have been opened for the introduction of capital from the North and from Europe, which would have flowed in by the millions of dollars for the purchase of land, erection of cotton factories, building of machine shops and manufacturing establishments. Railways would have been pushed into the interior, increasing the facilities of transportation for the removal of the cotton and other crops, doubling the value of plantations, attracting immigration, and opening up new avenues to industry, with an abundance of employ-

ment for all who thus desired to improve their condition.

And in the third place the prosperity of no inconsiderable portion of the people would have been once more realized by them to a larger extent than before, so that as in the case of the afflicted but patient man of old it would be said of them, "The Lord blessed their latter end more than the beginning."

It is never too late to do well.

Burke was right when he said, "The stock of materials by which any country is rendered flourishing and prosperous is its industry, its knowledge or skill, its morals, its execution of justice, its courage, and *the national union in directing those powers to one point, and making them all center in the public benefit.*"

MORTALITY OF OUR REPRESENTATIVE MEN.

In 1860 John Savage, Esq., published, from the rooms over the bookstore, corner of 7th and D streets, Washington, a daily paper called the *States and Union*. In the same year he prepared and published, under the auspices of Childs & Peterson, Philadelphia, a small volume of brief biographical sketches of thirty-one statesmen, then prominent in public life, and who together largely controlled, for the time, the destinies of the nation. All were, in a certain sense, "leaders of parties or sections or sub-sections of parties," and had, each in his sphere, numerous followers.

And now after the lapse of only fourteen years, a mere span in the life of a nation, twenty-one out of the number have passed over the stage of life, acted their "little piece," and gone beyond the shifting scenes of earthly action.

The following are the names of these representative men—and only those printed in italic letters are now living:

Nathaniel P. Banks, of Mass.; Edward Bates, of Mo.; John Bell, of Tenn.; John M. Botts, of Va.; *John C. Breckinridge*, of Ky.; *Albert G. Brown*, of Miss.; *Simon Cameron*, of Penna.; Salmon P. Chase, of Ohio; Howell Cobb, of Ga.; John J. Crittenden, of Ky.; *Caleb Cushing*, of Mass.; George M. Dallas, of Pa.; *Jefferson Davis*, of Miss.; Wm. L. Dayton, of N. J.; Daniel S. Dickinson, of N. Y.; Stephen A. Douglas, of Ill.; Edward Everett, of Mass.; Millard Fillmore, of N. Y.; *John C. Fremont*, of Cal.; James Guthrie, of Ky.; James H. Hammond,

of S. C.; Sam Houston, of Texas; *R. M. T. Hunter*, of Va.; *Andrew Johnson*, of Tenn.; *Joseph Lane*, of Oregon; John McLean, of Ohio; James L. Orr, of S. C.; John M. Read, of Pa.; Wm. H. Seward, of N. Y.; *Horatio Seymour*, of N. Y.; John Shdell, of La.; *Alex. H. Stephens*, of Ga.; *Henry A. Wise*, of Va.; and John E. Wool, of N. Y.

This, then, says a cotemporary writer, to whom we are indebted for the list of names embraced in Mr. Savage's little volume, is the swift ending of all the phantom of worldly ambition. That the reaper, Death, will gather in a lesser harvest from the same field during the next decade of years his ravages in the past forbid us to expect. What vanity is it not, therefore, for "the living representative men" of the present to waste their brief hour of prominence and power in petty bickerings and jealous rivalries over "trifles light as air?"—to feed the flames of "life's fitful fever" in "seeking the bubble reputation?"—in peevish, fretful longing for higher place than they now hold?—in heart-burning, cankering, and often unseemly struggles for the transient "title, knee, and approbation" of him who reaches even the highest plane of political refinement?—when in a few fleeting years at most they will have passed away forever, and become a shadowy memory and almost forgotten name?

"Absurd ! to think to overreach the grave,
And from the wreck of names to rescue ours:
The best concerted schemes men lay for fame
Die fast away: only themselves die faster."

RESOURCES AND DEVELOPMENT OF MICHIGAN.

TOPOGRAPHY, AREA, AND HISTORY.

Michigan is spread over two peninsulas. Geographically it is an extension northward of the States of Ohio and Indiana, and is bounded on the east by the St. Clair river and Lake Huron, north by Lake Superior, and west by Wisconsin and Lake Michigan. In form it resembles a tasseled liberty cap, forced up between Lakes Huron and Michigan, dividing those great inland seas up to the Strait of Mackinaw, with the tasseled pendent extending westward two hundred and ninety miles along the south coast of Lake Superior.

Michigan embraces an area of 56,451 square miles, a surface equal to that of Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, Vermont, New Jersey, Delaware, and Maryland combined. It has a lake coast of 1,500 miles, and is well watered by fine rivers and smaller streams throughout the entire State.

The peninsula of Michigan was occupied by French trappers and Jesuit Missionaries as early as 1648. Nineteen years later French troops appeared upon the ground to protect the fur traders from English adventurers in the same business, who were encroaching from Hudson's Bay and other northern localities. Hostilities were renewed again with greater vigor in 1743, resulting in a French and English war which extended to 1756.

During the interval of a century between these war periods the two peninsulas were the scene of many a bloody Indian conflict between the Hurons and Six Nations, the only result of which was the threatened extermination of both parties to these barbarous struggles for supremacy.

The peninsula was held by England from 1763 to 1783, when it was ceded to the United States with other Territories "east of the Mississippi." The British did not, however, evacuate the Territory

until the 11th of July, 1796. In the same year steps were taken to organize "a civil government for the Northwest Territory," the first legislature of which was convened at Cincinnati, September 16, 1799.

On the 7th of May, 1800, Indiana, including the peninsula, was organized, and in 1802 was under the governorship of William Henry Harrison, afterward President of the United States.

By act of Congress, July 11, 1805, to take effect June 30, 1805, Michigan was organized as a Territory from part of the Territory of Indiana. It then consisted of that district which is now known as the lower peninsula of Michigan. By acts of April 18, 1818, and June 28, 1834, there was added to the Territory of Michigan all that extensive tract of country north of Illinois and Missouri, extending westward to the Missouri river, and now forming the great State of Wisconsin and portions of adjoining States. By act of June 15, 1836, Michigan became a State, reduced from its territorial extension to its present limits, the other portions of the Territory of Michigan being subsequently absorbed by the States of Wisconsin, Iowa, Minnesota, and a part of the Territory of Dakota.

POPULATION.

In order to present a comparative view of the increase of the population of Michigan it is necessary to commence with the year 1800 and give the percentage of increase in the State and the percentage of increase for the United States, by decennial periods, down to the census of 1870:

Year.	Population.	Increase.	Per cent. of Increase.	Per cent. of increase in United States.
1800	551			35.10
1810	4,762	4,211	764.24	36.38
1820	8,806	4,134	86.81	33.12
1830	31,639	22,743	255.65	33.49
1840	212,266	180,628	570.90	32.67
1850	397,654	185,387	87.33	35.86
1860	749,113	351,459	88.38	35.38
1870	1,184,282	435,169	58.09	22.80

By the official figures here presented it will be seen that the per centage of increase in the population of Michigan has been much more rapid than the general percentage of increase for the United States.

The population of Michigan, June 1, 1870, as compiled by the State, was 1,184,282; as compiled by the United States Census Bureau it was 1,184,059. The very slight difference in the totals shows great care and creditable accuracy on the part of the parties employed in taking the different censuses.

The falling off in the per centage of increase between 1860 and 1870 in the State and in the United States is attributed very properly to the effects of the rebellion of 1861.

With variations in the rate of increase at certain periods Michigan has added rapidly to its population. In 1800 there were but 551 white inhabitants in the entire Territory. These were mainly confined to Detroit, the only village then within the limits of what is now a great State, with a population of not less than one and a half millions. If the increase from 1870 to 1880 shall equal the average increase in the State from 1840 to 1860, the population of Michigan in 1880 will be 2,224,674. Hon. Daniel Striker, Secretary of State, and Dr. H. B. Baker, statistician, who have devoted much attention to the subject, give it as their opinion that the present prosperity of the State and the rate of immigration since 1870 warrant the conclusion that the population in 1880 will be very little, if anything, short of two and a quarter millions. A State census is now being taken, but the tables will not be compiled before January 1, 1875. The returns already in denote a population of 1,300,000.

The relative numbers by sex of the population of the State in 1870, and their nativity, color, and physical and social condition are presented in the following table, based on the results of the United States census, and the subsequent census by the State authorities:

Population.	Males.	Females.	Total.
Native born.....	470,644	447,968	918,612
Foreign born.....	147,607	118,063	265,670
White	609,676	558,075	1,167,751
Black	3,047	2,474	5,521
Mulatto	8,140	3,083	11,223
Indians*	2,388	2,309	4,697
Blind	263	172	435
Deaf and Dumb....	295	245	543
Idiotic	367	245	612
Insane	380	440	820
Can not read.....	18,592	16,654	35,246
Can not write.....	27,780	25,610	53,390

*Indians maintaining tribal relations and living upon Government reservations, are not enumerated, but are excluded as "Indians not taxed."

Great attention has been paid by Dr. H. B. Baker, of Michigan, to the death rate in the State, and his tables presented in the "statistics of Michigan," published in 1873, are prepared with great care and accuracy, and for purposes of comparison with the death rates in other countries are invaluable. Dr. Edward Jarvis, in a pamphlet entitled "Immigration," published in 1872, says: "One million births in each year, through several generations, will support a constant population in England of 40,858,204; in France 34,938,543; in Ireland 22,505,901." According to Dr. Baker's tables this number in Michigan would support a constant population of 44,299,419. This clearly indicates a much smaller death rate in that State than in either of the countries named.

AGRICULTURE.

If inquiry should be made whether the climate of the State is favorable for agricultural purposes the answer is embraced in the fact that Michigan reports an annual average of nearly seventeen million bushels of corn. If the inquiry should turn upon the quality of the soil, an annual yield of eighteen to twenty million bushels of wheat tells the story. For the great staple products of the farm there is no superior spot on the continent, and the crop is almost always sure and very abundant. But let us look at the agricultural development of the State, as shown by the following table, based on the census of 1870:

No. of cultivated farms.....	98,647
Cash value of farms.....	\$98,096,746
No. of acres improved.....	5,088,587
Wheat crop (winter) bushels.....	16,029,090
Wheat crop (spring) bushels.....	267,682
Corn, bushels.....	14,374,633
Rye, bushels.....	138,936
Oats, bushels.....	8,819,167
Barley, bushels.....	819,586
Buckwheat, bushels.....	334,794
Tobacco, pounds.....	5,176
Peas and beans, bushels.....	240,176
Potatoes, Irish, bushels.....	10,231,033
Potatoes, sweet, bushels.....	5,833
Hay, tons.....	1,285,536
Clover seed, bushels.....	50,234
Grass seed, bushels.....	5,876
Hops, pounds.....	871,838
Hemp, tons.....	2,912
Flax, pounds.....	241,199
Flax seed, bushels.....	5,748
Wool,* pounds.....	8,864,896
Butter, pounds.....	24,304,189
Cheese, pounds.....	644,914
Milk sold, gallons.....	2,106,069
Orchard products, value.....	\$3,537,278
Market-garden products, value.....	\$334,618
Maple sugar, pounds.....	1,785,641
Maple molasses, gallons.....	115,012
Wine, gallons.....	22,015
Honey, pounds.....	273,263
Beeswax, pounds.....	14,755
Slaughtered animals, year, value.....	\$11,818,203
Value of all farm products,†.....	\$32,171,561

LIVE STOCK, JUNE 30, 1870

No. of horses.....	219,247
Mules and asses.....	2,362
Milch cows.....	251,276
Working oxen.....	36,484
Other cattle.....	285,449
Sheep.....	1,984,964
Swine.....	404,701
Value of all live stock.....	\$49,727,919

These figures are potent with meaning and show an agricultural development which can not fail to rank and keep Michigan among the most prosperous agricultural States in the Union. As evidence of these facts and of the rapid progress of the State it may be noted that the number of farms under actual cultivation have increased from 34,089 in 1850, to 98,786 in 1870; and it is added by those familiar with the facts that the purchase and opening up of new farms have never been carried on more rapidly than at present, and especially since 1870. With some few exceptions the entire lower peninsula or main body of the State is admirably adapted in soil and climate for agricultural purposes and prosperity, while the extensive range of water base and numerous shipping ports will always afford abundant facilities for prompt

and cheap transportation, and render the pursuit of agriculture desirable and profitable on all parts of the peninsula. In addition to the facilities for transportation by water, there is a network of railroads extending over the State and into the interior, which brings the means of reaching the best markets on the continent or in Europe almost to the very door of every farmer in the State.

MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES.

However vigorously the agricultural interests of the State have been prosecuted, it can be asserted with emphasis that the not less important source of a State's prosperity—a diversified system or range of manufacturing industries—has not been neglected. We may multiply to the utmost extent the facilities for the transportation of agricultural products to foreign markets; yet, after all this is done, the best markets for the farmer are those nearer home—at his own door. No agricultural district can long follow the practice of exporting its products without impoverishing the soil. Andrew Yarrinton is said to have been the first to suggest, in his remarkable work entitled "England's Improvement by Sea and Land," published in 1677, the measures that have since led to the manufacturing greatness of England, and at the same time enriched her soil and her aristocratic land owners. She brings the machinery and skill to the raw materials and thus removes the necessity for sending abroad the bulky wheat, corn, and wool.* The plain good sense of Adam Smith enabled him to comprehend and show to England the error of a system which found in exports and imports the only index to prosperity; and also fully to understand the enormous waste of labor resulting from imposing upon communities a necessity for exporting corn, wheat, wool, cotton, and other products of the earth in their rudest shape, to be returned again in the form of cloth and cutlery. If the products of the soil are

*The wool crop for 1874 is 8,000,000 pounds, value \$3,300,000.

†Including betterments and increase of stock for the year.

*Dr. Carey's "Principles of Social Science," condensed edition, page 180.

exported the means of fertilizing the soil go also, but do not return with the cloth that comes back. Farmers can not ignore the fact that man is a mere borrower from the earth, and when he refuses to return an equivalent in fertilizers, she does as do all other creditors, refuse him further accommodation. "England makes of her soil a reservoir," says Dr. Carey, "for the refuse yielded by the raw commodities of almost half the world, thus obtaining manure that has been valued at \$500,000,000," or six times the value of the entire annual agricultural product of Michigan.

But we have the evidence in the statistics of the manufacturing industries of the State, that the people of Michigan are already alive to the importance of creating markets near home for the products of the soil. There are to-day within a fraction of ten thousand manufacturing establishments in the State, giving employment to sixty-five or seventy thousand persons, and consuming annually sixty-five million dollars worth of materials. This is evidence that the policy is to bring the farmer and the mechanic, the plow and the loom, in short, the producer and the consumer, near together, and in these relations a State, under reasonable energy and industry on the part of its people, can not fail to prosper. Another secret of the cause of Michigan's wonderful prosperity lies in the great diversity of her manufactures, which embrace the wide range of the raw products of the soil, mines, forest, and sea. In illustration, there are forty-four distilleries of peppermint oil in the State, showing that nothing is overlooked that can be converted to useful and profitable purposes and ultimately to the benefit of the people. Let us look into their factories and workshops for direct evidence of industry and thrift.

NUMBER AND ANNUAL PRODUCT OF SAW-MILLS.

See those mills dotted along the river sides and upon the smaller streams from the lake shores far into the interior pro-

pelled by water-power, together with a still larger number driven by steam, and giving employment to thousands of the industrious sons of a hardy and resolute yeomanry. And here in a comprehensive table we have the result of this single industry:

No. of mills.....	1,566
Persons employed.....	17,564
Wages paid (year).....	\$6,364,519
Lumber sawed, (year) feet.....	2,114,349,508
Laths sawed.....	260,119,900
Shingles sawed, thousands.....	605,641
Capital invested.....	\$26,355,816
Value of materials used.....	\$ 6,93,300
Total value of products.....	\$31,09,066

Here is an annual product from the wood mills alone of thirty-three million dollars, aside from the timber and wood in other forms taken from the forests.

At a period when a feeling prevails that our timber and lumber forests will soon be exhausted, it is interesting to the people of Michigan to know that they yet possess the largest and best area of forest land in the Union. The latest estimates, confined to the leading timber States, give the following results: Maine, 10½ million acres of forest land; New Hampshire, 2½; Vermont, 2½; Massachusetts, 1½; New York, 8½; Pennsylvania, 11½; Michigan, 12½; Minnesota, 9; Wisconsin, 7½.

FLOURING MILLS.

Glance now at the number and annual product of the flouring mills of the State:

No. of mills.....	512
Runs of stones.....	1,296
Persons employed.....	1,473
Wages paid, year.....	679,831
Wheat ground, bushels.....	12,36,873
Other grain, bushels.....	3,067,607
Product of flour, barrels.....	2,325,694
Meal and feed, pounds.....	98,939,090
Capital invested.....	\$6,938,830
Cost of materials and labor.....	\$ 7,616,063
Value of products.....	\$19,061,356

Nearly two and a half million barrels of flour is a magnificent showing for the State, especially as three-fourths of the product is classed with the highest grades produced in the Union.

WOOLEN FACTORIES.

This is another important industry, yet in its infancy but rapidly assuming larger proportions. When the enterprise of Michigan is prepared to roll up its surplus wheat, corn, and pork in webs

of broad cloth, beavers, and alpacas and mixed goods for women's wear, they will have abundant employment for their artisans and female operatives, find markets for their agricultural products at home, and never be cramped for transportation or imposed upon by railroad monopolies. In his "Wealth of Nations" Adam Smith said, and the people now see the force of his argument, that "neither the rude produce, nor even the coarse manufacture could, without the greatest difficulty, support the expense of a considerable transportation, yet the refined and improved manufacture easily may. In a small bulk it frequently contains the price of a great quantity of raw produce. A piece of fine cloth, for example, which weighs only eighty pounds, contains in the price not only eighty pounds of wool but sometimes of several thousand weight of corn, the maintenance of the different working people and of their immediate employers. The corn which could with difficulty have been carried abroad in its own shape is in this manner virtually exported in that of the complete manufacture, and may easily be sent to the remotest corners of the world." This is the way to obtain home markets for our agricultural products, a fact with which our Western farmers and Western enterprise are every year becoming more impressed.

The woollen factories of Michigan presented the following results at the date of the last United States census :

No. of woollen factories.....	54
Males employed.....	406
Females employed.....	245
Children employed.....	50
Wages paid.....	\$204,217
Wool used, pounds.....	1,382,757
Cloth produced, yards.....	845,735
Yarn and rolls, pounds.....	235,350
Other products, value.....	\$27,824
Capital invested.....	\$85,500
Cost of materials and labor.....	\$50,466
Total products, value.....	\$1,138,172

This is a good commencement, and with results in profits that will lead to a large and rapid development of this important branch of the State's industries.

SALT WORKS.

These are confined to Bay, Huron, Macomb, and Saginaw counties, the lat-

ter making over two-thirds of the entire product. The following is the result for 1870 :

No. of salt works.....	69
Steam engines employed.....	62
Steam vats.....	45
Solar vats.....	4,491
Persons employed.....	811
Capital invested.....	\$2,061,500
Cost of materials and labor.....	\$701,473
Salt produced, barrels.....	632,706
Value of product.....	\$1,148,761

The annual product of salt has increased since 1870, the year ending June 30, 1874, showing 952,825 barrels as the result of the year; while the product of July, 1874, alone amounted to 116,500 barrels, as shown by official returns. The salt product of Saginaw is among the largest in the country, and the article is of very superior quality.

CHEESE FACTORIES.

There are 30 cheese factories in the State, 11 of which employ steam power. These factories consume annually over thirteen and a quarter million pounds of milk, costing \$166,207, and yield 1,115,512 pounds of cheese, worth \$219,288.

TANNERIES.

One hundred and one tanneries consume annually an average of \$1,357,931 worth of material, employ 707 persons, and yield a product valued at \$2,557,043.

MINOR INDUSTRIES.

There are a number of minor industries which for want of space can not be enumerated in detail, such as plaster mining and manufacturing, breweries, distilleries, &c. Nor is it necessary, as the greater portion of them are common to nearly all the States, and in about the same proportions in relation to the population of each State. Manufactures in metals will be considered in connection with remarks on the extent and development of the iron and copper mines on the Upper Peninsula of the State, known as

THE GREAT LAKE SUPERIOR MINERAL REGION OF MICHIGAN.

We invite the reader now to a visit to the iron mountains and copper mines embraced in the vast mineral ridges stretching along the South coast of Lake Superior. We have a choice of routes.

A railway along the west side of Green Bay will carry us direct to the mineral districts. A more pleasant route, perhaps, will be to go on board one of those fine lake steamers at Detroit, and pass over Lake Huron through the broad St. Mary's canal into Lake Superior, and across the lake to Marquette, one of the principal shipping ports of the mineral products of that region. Approaching the town our attention from the deck of the steamer is attracted to the fleet of schooners in the harbor, some awaiting their turn to load with ore or iron coming down by rail from the interior, others at the long, high wharf are each rapidly receiving cargo from the cars and bins along the wharf, while those already freighted have hauled off and dropped anchor, awaiting a favorable wind to waft them over the lake and through St. Mary's canal, the Strait of Mackinaw, and down Lake Michigan to Chicago, or from the canal through Lakes Haron and Erie to Cleveland and Erie, where coal is near at hand to prepare the crude ore for market and manufacturing purposes.

Marquette is a comparatively new town, well laid out, burnt down a few years ago, again rebuilt with fine residences—many of them elegant,—large stores, handsome churches, and commodious school-houses. It originated, expands and flourishes on the industries and profits growing out of the products of the mines.

HISTORY OF DISCOVERY.

Although reports of vast mineral deposits in this region were made by the Indians and Jesuit Fathers at a very early period, yet scientific explorations and surveys were not made, nor was anything of a specific nature known of the vast mineral wealth of the Upper Peninsula of Michigan until a comparatively recent date. In 1636 La Garde, in a book published in Paris, made known to the world the existence of copper on the south coast of Lake Superior. Claude Allouez, an early missionary of intelligence, in 1666 discovered a ledge of cop-

per projecting above the water near the shore of the lake. The same authority found lumps of copper weighing from 10 to 20 pounds among the savages, held in superstitious awe and carefully preserved as domestic gods. In 1672 a map of 1,600 miles of the coast and islands, made by the early Jesuits, was published in Paris. In 1689 Baron La Houtan published a book of travels in which he mentions that "upon Lake Superior we find copper mines, the metal of which is fine and plentiful, there being not a seventh part base from the ore." In 1721 P. De Charlevoix described the copper deposits and the superstitions of the Indians in reference to them. In 1765 Captain J. Carver visited the mineral region of Lake Superior, and his reports were so minute as to the abundance and richness of copper that a company was formed in England in 1771, which commenced operations on Ontonagon river under Mr. A. Henry, who wound up the business in 1772, informing the company that "the country must be cultivated and peopled before the copper can be profitably mined." A century has since elapsed and the population and the profits are being realized, the latter by a score or more of large companies in active operation.

Tracing the history of developments after the unsuccessful experience of Mr. Henry, the next movement worthy of note was a Government exploring expedition, in 1819, with H. R. Schoolcraft as mineralogist and geologist, sent along the south shore of the lake to examine the copper deposits. In 1823 a similar Government expedition was sent out, and each made favorable reports. But the first systematic exploration was commenced in 1831, by Dr. Douglas Houghton, subsequently prosecuted under the auspices of the State government, and carried on successfully and with important results till 1843, when the finances of the State treasury were disarranged by the "five million loan," as it was called, and the annual appropriation for the survey was cut off. Dr. Houghton then appealed to the General Government and was suc-

cessful in obtaining an appropriation for public surveys and geological work on the Upper Peninsula of Michigan, which enabled him to prosecute his explorations successfully, until he came to an untimely death by drowning in the lake while in the midst of his important labors in 1845.

The survey and examinations were then so far completed that the "Jackson Company" located a tract of mineral land for future mining operations. The manner of discovery of this earliest developed and one of the best iron properties is shown in the following letter from P. M. Everett, now of Marquette, to Captain G. D. Johnson, now of the Lake Superior mine. It is dated at Jackson, Michigan, November 10, 1845, and is as follows:

"I left here on the 23d day of July last, and was gone until the 24th of October. I had considerable difficulty in getting any one to join me in the enterprise, but I at last succeeded in forming a company of thirteen. I was appointed treasurer and agent to explore and make locations, for which last purpose we had secured seven permits from the Secretary of War. I took four men with me from Jackson and hired a guide at the Sault, where I bought a boat and coasted up the lake to Copper Harbor, which is over 300 miles from Sault Ste. Marie. We made several locations, one of which we called Iron at the time. It is a mountain of solid iron ore 150 feet high. The ore looks as bright as a bar of iron just broken. Since coming home we have had some of it smelted, and find that it produces iron and something resembling gold—some say it is gold and copper. Our location is one mile square, and we shall send a company of men up in the spring to begin operations. Our company is called the Jackson Mining Company."

General attention soon began to be attracted to the mineral wealth of this region and within the next decade other companies were organized, and the number of these companies and extent of their operations have continued to increase with most satisfactory results down to the present time.* The aver-

*For a complete official report of operations of the iron and copper companies and a statement of dividends, see *REPUBLIC*, volume II., page 336.

age cost of delivering the ore in the cars at the mines is about \$2 per ton; freight to Cleveland \$4 35 per ton, makes \$6 35. It is sold on the wharf in Cleveland at an average of \$8 per ton, leaving a profit of \$1 65, or after deducting insurance and incidentals, say \$1 25, which makes it a very remunerative operation.

The following official tabular statement of the iron ore trade of the Marquette region will afford the reader an insight into the magnitude and importance of the entire mineral operations on the Upper Peninsula of Michigan:

Names of companies.	Tons shipped in 1872.	Total shipments to end of 1872.
Jackson (a) (b).....	118,842	1,258,503
Cleveland (a).....	151,724	1,019,153
Lake Superior (a) (b).....	185,070	1,270,136
New York (a).....	68,950	454,538
Lake Angeline (a).....	35,221	299,009
Marquette (a).....	11,574	93,000
Foster (b).....	18,684	76,214
Washington (c).....	38,841	311,686
Iron Mountain (d).....	17,465	16,594
New England (a) (b).....	26,026	110,325
Edwards (a).....	70,588	123,276
Champion (c).....	39,187	225,006
Barnum (a).....	14,239	181,755
Winthrop (b).....	25,030	25,027
Macomber (b).....	9,925	45,838
Grand Central (b).....	9,154	14,655
Negaunee (b).....	39,455	13,941
Cascade (a) (d).....	19,160	43,214
Saginaw (a).....	13,445	19,160
Silas C. Smith (b).....	11,025	13,445
Republic (a) (c).....	8,767	11,025
Allen (b).....	7,633	8,767
Harriman (e).....	6,772	7,633
Rolling Mill (b).....	4,970	6,772
Other companies (e).....		6,949

(a) Specular iron ore.

(b) Hematite iron ore.

(c) Magnetic iron ore.

(d) Flag iron ore.

(e) Not stated.

The following is the total product of the copper mines in ingot copper, and yield of the iron mines and furnaces in 1873, and the value of the same:

Year 1873.	Tons ingot copper, and iron ore.	Tons pig iron.	Value.
Copper.....	14,910		\$8,200,590
Iron.....	1,163,057	71,507	11,365,633
Total.....			19,566,133

Nineteen and a half million dollars indicates a very large amount of business; yet these mines are almost wholly undeveloped and the enterprise is merely in its infancy.

These ores or their product find a ready market and consumption in Michigan, Ohio, Pennsylvania, New York, West Virginia, Wisconsin, Illinois, and Indiana. Over a hundred furnaces in Pennsylvania and Ohio use Lake Superior ore almost exclusively, while others mix it with ores mined in their own immediate neighborhoods. A large amount is smelted in Lake Superior, where charcoal is used. Charcoal costs eleven cents per bushel, and about 110 bushels are required to the ton of the best ore, and 140 bushels per ton of the poorest ore. With this and the cost of mining, labor, &c., all added, the total expenses are about \$35 per ton. As this iron commands the highest prices in the markets it will be seen that heavy dividends come to the stockholders.

VARIETIES OF IRON ORE.

There are five varieties of iron ore in the district: (1) the most valuable is specular hematite, yielding sixty-five per cent. pure iron; (2) soft hematite, similar to the ores of Pennsylvania and Connecticut, porous, easily reduced, and yields fifty per cent. iron; (3) the magnetic ores; (4) silicious hematite, more difficult of reduction and varying in richness; (5) silicious hematite, found with manganese, which, when mixed with other ores, produces an excellent quality of iron.

Practical experience has long since shown that "the best iron can not be manufactured from one variety, but by mixing ores strength and durability both are obtained. England sends to Russia and Sweden for magnetic ores to mix with those produced in Lancashire for the manufacture of steel. The fires of Sheffield would soon go out if the manufacturers in that town were dependent on English ore alone. The iron masters there could not make steel good enough for a blacksmith's use, to say nothing of

that needed for cutlery, if they were cut off from foreign magnetic ores." In Lake Superior mines the different varieties lie side by side for the production of steel for all purposes, a mixture of the hematite and magnetic producing a metal equal to the best ever known. And from this fact alone the reader will easily decide what is to be the future of the Upper Peninsula of Michigan.

Now look at the importance of this portion of the State from a geographical point of view. Stretch a line across a map of the United States from the extremes of the continent, with one end resting on Portland, Maine, on the Atlantic, and the other on Portland, Oregon, on the Pacific. It will pass along the line of the Northern Pacific railway and directly through the mineral regions of the Upper Peninsula of Michigan, taking in twelve States and Territories and the Province of Ontario, Canada. These apparently inexhaustible beds of iron and copper are thus, as will be seen, deposited along the route of the great Northern highway between the two oceans and near the broad agricultural districts of the Northwestern States. Here, then, midway upon the continent with abundant rail and water facilities for transportation, in proximity with the great wheat and corn fields of the West—which mean cheap food—nature has deposited these exhaustless mines of wealth to give employment to millions of our race and supply the growing demand of the great communities of the continent with those two indispensable products, iron and copper. "We have but to think," says Carleton in his *Seat of Empire*, "of the capabilities of this region, its extent and area, the increase of population, the development of resources, the construction of railways, the growth of cities and towns; we have only to grasp the probabilities of the future to discern the dawning commercial greatness of this section of our country."

AGGREGATES OF INDUSTRY.

The following table embraces the aggregate industries of the State:

INDUSTRIAL ESTABLISHMENTS.	POWER.						LABOR.						Value of materials used.	Total expenses for materials and labor.	Dollars.	Excess of value of total pro- ducts over expenses for materials and labor.	Dollars.	Value of total products.	Dollars.	Capital invested.
	Steam.			Water.			Horse.	Average.		Months of labor.	Wages paid.									
	Establishments.	Aggregate capacity in horse power.	No.	Establishments.	Aggregate capacity in horse power.	No.		Persons employed per month.	No.		Months.	Dollars.								
Lumbering.....	1,506	1,052	38,353	445	11,574	13	17,564	7.4	130,715	6,354,519	16,431,310	23,895,810	9,873,247	33,109,096	26,355,816					
Flouring.....	512	147	5,164	391	16,177	.....	1,472	10.5	15,417	677,831	16,438,232	17,616,063	1,445,263	19,061,356	6,938,880				
Feudriss and machine-shops.....	221	169	2,505	27	302	16	3,193	11.4	35,618	1,751,225	2,504,838	3,955,663	1,733,633	5,688,846	16,802,325					
Tanneries.....	101	57	1,048	7	59	21	707	10.7	8,183	32,771	1,357,931	1,670,701	880,342	2,557,043	1,340,500					
Breweries.....	127	23	230	1	10	17	570	4.8	3,183	162,08	549,742	712,650	487,676	1,200,336	1,355,741					
Fisheries.....	243	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	961	.....	4,663	141,570	16,1058	303,428	291,195	569,623	378,490				
Cheese factories.....	30	11	75	.....	.....	.....	75	5.3	319	13,000	167,307	170,207	40,01	219,288	83,050				
Woolen factories.....	54	20	618	38	1,142	.....	701	8.8	6,170	204,217	646,249	850,493	287,706	1,138,172	935,510				
Peppermint oil distilleries.....	44	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	116	1.8	296	5,758	12,624	18,382	48,401	66,873	21,760				
Coal mines.....	2	2	62	76	76	10.8	76	10.8	828	48,432	5,000	53,432	50,708	6	1,700					
Gas factories.....	11	2	21	46	46	6.9	46	6.9	42	35,980	63,937	93,016	114,927	213,500	529,500					
Salt works.....	69	62	751	1	1	1.8	811	12	5,642	31,831	30,634	70,473	417,988	1,148,761	2,001,510					
Iron mines.....	10	9	837	.....	.....	.....	2,440	.....	1,203,988	3,910,000	1,599,118	1,599,118	1,122,707	2,731,955	3,731,010				
Iron furnaces.....	17	14	1,289	3	40	.....	2,077	.....	23,779	1,093,910	2,621,795	3,331,834	2,935,639	2,634,010	2,634,010				
Rolling mill.....	1	1	2,090	.....	.....	.....	440	.....	no report	253,514	254,001	488,464	202,035	670,500	675,000				
Copper mines.....	27	26	6,316	.....	.....	.....	3,877	10.4	4,133	2,357,441	647,137	3,044,181	942,685	3,986,866	5,434,774				
Copper stamping and washing.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Copper smelting.....	11	11	2,210	.....	.....	.....	426	10.9	4,083	297,584	790,864	993,448	2,475,915	3,474,353	630,000				
Plaster mining.....	2	2	59	.....	.....	.....	145	10.3	1,570	116,542	2,912,515	3,029,057	40,375	3,069,432	230,000				
Distillery.....	2	2	225	.....	.....	.....	169	8.4	.....	840	64,000	81,310	47,100	13,400	335,000				
Marine industries.....	1	1	25	.....	.....	.....	13	12	155	10,000	85,900	95,900	3,410	40,000	75,000				
All industries.....	6,521	601	13,542	141	15,291	138	29,089	10.4	391,509	9,583,895	18,815,425	28,381,321	13,295,229	41,594,549	22,847,381					
	9,355	2,212	76,038	1,053	44,325	295	64,030	9.5	610,679	25,019,783	64,801,677	89,812,463	34,399,728	124,122,191	83,762,167					

COAL.

So far as is yet known Michigan has no coal deposits of any considerable importance. Two coal mines are worked to a limited extent which yielded in 1870 coal to the value of \$64,200. There are, however, direct railway connections to the coal mines of Indiana and Ohio and water communication to Pennsylvania and other coal producing States..

THE FISHING GROUNDS AND ANNUAL PRODUCT OF FISH.

With nearly two thousand miles of lake and river coast, nearly every portion of which, at the fishing seasons, is teeming with fish, the people of Michigan may always have an abundant supply of food fishes of the choicest kinds, while this industry may be made one of useful employment to a very large number of the citizens of the State. The State fisheries have not yet been pursued much beyond procuring supplies for home consumption, but they may be rendered exceedingly profitable, and will ere long be classed among the more important industries and become one of the most profitable branches of commerce in the State.

The fishing stations, operations, and product for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1870, are officially reported as follows:

No. of fisheries.....	243
Persons employed.....	561
Capital invested.....	\$378,490
Cost of materials and labor.....	\$308,428
Barrels of fish.....	58,854
Value of the product.....	\$562,623

In this report no note is made of the thousands of fine trout taken from a hundred streams, constituting an important addition to the supplies for the table in a vast number of families throughout the State.

Under the attractive caption of "America's Future Fishing Ground," the well-informed editor of *Forest and Stream* thus describes the inexhaustible field and profitable future fishing industries of Michigan:

"Our readers know how rapidly Michigan has grown into notice and favor of late as a superb angling region. All that rich and unexplored territory which sweeps from the Straits of Mackinaw to

Saginaw Bay and from Thunder Bay to Grand Traverse, in whose primeval mazes even the lumberman is sometimes bewildered, has been found to abound in trout and to swarm with grayling, sometimes separate, sometimes occupying harmoniously the same stream. To these we add the rich stores of the great Lakes Huron and Michigan, and of the Upper Peninsula with its grand fisheries, the waters of Marquette, and the south shore of Lake Superior, and where in any country can be found such an illimitable and inexhaustible field for the angler? To the four points of the compass from one grand focal point flow its great rivers, the Muskegon to the south, the Manistee to the west, the Cheboygan to the north, and the Au Sable to the east, with a dozen lesser streams like the Hersey, already famous for its grayling, the Au Gres, the Boardman, Rifle, Marquette, and Jordan; and from these principal waters radiate countless ramifications of trout brooks and sparkling streams to where sunlight or man has never entered. All of these secret places and intricate recesses are being gradually brought to light and knowledge by the construction of the Flint and Marquette railroad, which traverses the interior of the State, and has already reached Lake Houghton, itself swarming with monster fish.

"We are by no means skeptical of the future, and we venture to predict that, within ten years, Michigan will become and be known as the grand fishing ground of America, and be patronized by people from all parts of the world. Its streams are now crossed by fallen timber and choked with driftwood and brush, but those who shall hereafter enter its penetralia will clear these away and leave the water-courses unobstructed and pleasant for the adventurous tourist. Then the birch and the dug-out can thread their sinuosities at will, and when the midday sun is hot, be grateful for the primeval shade that overshadows and shuts them in.

"There are no sections where the people are waking up to their own advantages more than in Michigan, and the men who are leading the van of improvement are educated men, brawny pioneers in intellect as well as in muscle, with hard cash as well as hard fists, men who are going in to win. Now, for the North and East we have the Adirondacks; for the great West, the Yellowstone, and for the interior, this new hunting and angling ground of Michigan, which is central to all. Hail, Michigan!"

RAILROADS OF THE STATE.

In these days of enlarged commercial development and rapid transit a State, with all its other advantages, is nothing without railroads. Of this Michigan seems to have been early aware, and has made ample provision to meet the necessities of its growing communities. The efficient State Commissioner of Railroads informs us, July 31, 1874, that "the table now in preparation in this office for the forthcoming report shows 3,254.38 miles of main line and branches of railroad in Michigan, excluding sidings, which amount to 431.46 miles of track more, besides 55.75 miles of double or second track on the Michigan Central. aggregating, all told, 3,741.59 miles of track in the State."

In his previous report, (1873,) the commissioner says the total amount of gross earnings returned for the year were \$31,998,253 61; of which \$8,908,471 11, or 28.65 per cent., was derived from passengers, and \$21,587,354 43, or 67 per cent., from freight; the remaining 5 per cent. arising from mail and express service and from miscellaneous sources. Average earnings to each mile of road \$8.253 25.

Railroad tariff rates in the State have been largely reduced. The last annual report of the Lake Shore and Michigan Railway Company to its stockholders contains these words: "It is a fact worthy of note that rates have of late years tended downward so steadily and so rapidly that the average rate per ton per mile in 1872 is but little more than half the rate of 1868." So, also, the annual report of the Michigan Central Company says: "It will be noticed how gradually but certainly rates have been sinking from 3.06 per ton per mile in 1865, to 1.56 in 1872, with slight increase—(1-100th of a cent)—in 1873."

Some of the roads are paying well and returning handsome dividends, while others are not paying expenses; but the people of Michigan are aware that the importance of railroads must not be measured by dividends, but by their

instrumentality in opening up the interior of the State, developing its latent resources, and extending its commerce. Two railroads pay large direct dividends, but all return immense indirect profits.

The management of the Michigan railways is good, as we gather from the annual reports to the State Superintendent of Railroads, who is himself admirably adapted to his position, and largely instrumental in introducing efficient and important improvements in the police regulations of the State railways for greater safety to the lives of passengers.

EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES AND ACHIEVEMENTS.

The Superintendent of Public Instruction presents a full and complete report in a volume of 400 pages, of the condition of the educational institutions of the State for 1873.

The University of Michigan, with its forty professors and 1,176 students, is an honor to the State and a credit to the Union. The Regents in their last annual report call special attention to that portion of the president's annual report relating to the admission of women to the university, and heartily indorse the statements there made. They say: "The successful education of the two sexes in the same schools can no longer be considered as an experiment." They add: "The relation between the university and the high schools of the State, now fairly established, completes our splendid system of education, and makes it possible for every child of Michigan to enjoy the benefits of a full collegiate course at the expense of the State." That is an achievement for which the public will accord all honor to the people of Michigan for their successful educational efforts.

Then there are the State normal school, State agricultural college, State public school, and State reform school, each supplying an important part in the general educational system.

Among other prominent educational institutions are the Adrian, Albion, Hope, Kalamazoo, and Olivet Colleges;

the German-American, Michigan Female, and Monroe Female Seminaries; together with the Detroit Industrial School, and the City Union schools of Adrian, Battle Creek, Coldwater, Detroit, Grand Rapids, Marshall, Lansing, Owosso, Pontiac, Port Huron, and St. Joseph.

In the graded schools introduced all over the State there are 417 male and 1,708 female teachers, with an attendance of 166,540 pupils, in school houses (including lots) valued at \$5,154,115. The aggregate of salaries paid annually to male teachers amounts to \$293,392 20, and to female teachers \$526,785 92.

In 1873 there were planted over the State 88 stone, 641 brick, 4,246 frame, and 605 log school-houses, containing seats for 399,067 pupils, the buildings being valued at \$8,105,391. The rapid settlement of the new counties has increased the number of log schools houses, and this is quite as much an indication of growth as is the building of costly structures. In the older counties the log houses are disappearing. In the thirteen counties south of the base line, containing about one-third of the population of the State, but 36 log school-houses remain, and nine of these are in one county.

Thus is Michigan contributing directly to her future greatness by dispensing the blessings of education to the thousands and hundreds of thousands of her youth through successive generations.

INSANE, BLIND, AND CHARITABLE INSTITUTIONS.

In the same liberal spirit has the State provided for her unfortunate citizens. The insane asylum, and the institution for the deaf and dumb and the blind, are objects of special care by the State authorities, as are also the pauper and reformatory institutions.

STATE REVENUES AND EXPENDITURES.

The thoroughness with which the annual official reports of the public affairs of the State are prepared is in itself an evidence at once of a patriotic pride in

the State's prosperity, and of excellent judgment and untiring energy on the part of State officials. There are before us the "Statistics of Michigan," a handsomely printed volume of 700 pages, from the presses of the State printer; "Annual Report of the Commissioner of Railroads," 340 pages; "Report of Superintendent of Public Instruction," 407 pages; "Geological Survey of Michigan, 1869 '73," 2 volumes, making nearly 900 pages, accompanying which is an atlas containing twenty-three 36 by 24 inch plates, illustrating the mineral districts. Then there are the "Annual Report of the Commissioner of the State Land Office," invaluable for immigrants and persons purchasing for investment; and the "Annual Report of the Auditor of the State of Michigan for the year ending September 30, 1873," containing upward of 360 pages of closely printed matter, of which over 300 are in tabular form. The tables are a monument of industrious work, and required clear heads and ready hands to perfect them.

We make the following condensation of some of the important features of this report:

REVENUE RECEIPTS.

The gross receipts to the treasury during the year were \$2,192,431 52, which, added to balance (\$977,224 03) on hand at the commencement of the year, gives for total gross amount charged to the State Treasurer during the year, \$3,169,655 55. From these receipts deduct on account of transactions with swamp land warrants \$246,863 69, and there remains for cash receipts \$1,945,567 83. From this amount deduct receipts in trust amounting to \$429,108 80, and there remains as net cash receipts on account of revenue proper \$1,516,459 03.

REVENUE EXPENDITURES.

The gross expenditures during the year amount to \$2,314,942 11; deduct on

*Of the land purchases in the mineral region it is reported: "Some men who purchased land at Government price are on the high road to fortune. One man entered eighty acres of land which now nets him twenty-four thousand dollars per annum."—Carleton's "Seat of Empire," page 180.

account of transactions with swamp land warrants \$246,863 69, and there remains as net cash expenditures \$2,068,098 42. Of these cash expenditures there were from receipts in trust \$381,121 88, leaving the cash disbursements from revenue proper \$1,686,956 45.

The balance in treasury at close of the year was \$854,713 44.

To this we can add on official authority that "the balance in the State treasury, August 1, 1874, was \$1,148,482 03," and our informant adds: "We are ready to pay \$500,000 of our bonds not yet due, if we could only get hold of them."

The Auditor General, Hon. William Humphrey, is opposed to incurring and increasing State, county, and municipal debts by bonds or in any form, and says: "The people of other States, through amendments or revision of their constitutions, are reserving and limiting the power of taxation, and restricting the tax-imposing and debt-creating tendency of counties and municipal corporations. The policy of such restrictions can no longer be doubted, and the necessity thereof in this State would seem no less absolute than in cases where they have been imposed."

This is sound advice and more needed in some other States than in Michigan, where the State debt is small and is undergoing an annual reduction. The State indebtedness, in excess of present means of payment, is only \$1,115,978 35. On January 1st, 1867, there was outstanding of unmatured bonds \$3,790,500. At the close of the last fiscal year, September 30, 1873, there was outstanding of these bonds \$1,626,000, showing a reduction in the amount thereof of \$2,164,500.

A very massive and commodious building for the STATE CAPITOL is now in course of erection,* on which \$129,143 76 have been expended since the foundation stone was laid last year; and a prominent member of the Government informs the editor of THE REPUBLIC

*See full account of the ceremonies of laying the corner-stone of the State Capitol in THE REPUBLIC, vol. 1, page 528.

that "We pay for it as we go along without borrowing a dollar," an excellent principle, and one worthy of imitation.

LANDS SOLD AND UNSOLD.

The total number of acres of public lands surveyed in the State of Michigan is stated at 36,128,640.

There have been patented to the State—

Swamp lands—acres.....	5,838,6 6.69
Internal improvement lands.....	4 8,638.54
For the St. Mary's ship canal.....	750,000.00
For Portage Lake and Lake Superior ship canal.....	400,000.00
La C La Beche canal.....	100,000.00
Railroad purposes.....	2,895,608.15
Wagon road from Fort Wilkins, Copper Harbor, Mich., to Fort Howard, Green Bay, Wis.....	162,992.24
Primary school fund.....	1,067,346.00
University.....	46,800.00
Agricultural College.....	240,000.00
Salt spring lands.....	46,080.00
State building lands.....	13,200.00

Aggregate of Congressional grants to State—acres..... 11,968,611.62

Given for amount of lands in excess of grants to State..... 24,160,028.38
Of which amount there remains undisposed of about..... 1,000,000.00

Leaving for amount disposed of by General Government otherwise than by grants to the State, and which have gone into the hands of private owners..... 23,160,028.38
Of the lands granted to the State by the General Government the State yet holds title to but 2,741,705.64.

Giving for amount disposed of by the State and which has passed into the possession of corporations and individuals..... 9,226,955.98

Giving for the total amount of land, the title to which has passed from the United States to individuals and corporations..... 32,386,934.36

Leaving for number of acres of land yet in the hands of the General Government and of the State undisposed of..... 3,741,705.64

The attractions for immigration are peculiarly strong. The abundance of superior soil yet under timber on the middle and upper sections of the lower peninsula and on the southwest section of the upper peninsula afford unusual facilities for settlement, with every prospect of success and ultimate independence.

PROSPECTIVE DEVELOPMENT OF THE STATE.

Within the limits of a single paper we have endeavored to mark the rapid

progress made under a favoring Providence by the people of this great Northwest State within a period of only thirty-seven years. From small beginnings a populous State, with free institutions—the choice of the people themselves—has been reared upon the lake-washed peninsulas of Michigan, with laws and regulations in full accord with the letter and spirit of the Constitution and Statutes of the Federal Union; With a university and other institutions of learning, which already enjoy abroad a wide reputation, and form part of an unexceptionable system of free, popular, and advanced education; and with a local Legislature and public officers whose highest aspirations are manifested in continuous patriotic efforts to advance the general welfare of the Common-

wealth, by enacting judicious laws, pushing forward internal improvements, and developing the diversified resources of the State.

Already Michigan has taken a high stand in educational, fiscal, and material progress, and to forecast her future is to see her as the New England of the Northwest, prosperous in her industries, arts, and manufactures, and advanced in the intelligence, morals, and religion of her people, who will be counted by millions, contented and happy, with hearts responsive to the lines of the poet:

"Great God! we thank Thee for this home—
This bounteous birthright of the free—
Where wanderers from afar may come,
And breathe the air of liberty!
Still may her flowers untrampled spring,
Her harvests wave, her cities rise;
And yet, till Time shall fold his wing,
Remain Earth's loveliest paradise!"

THE RECIPROCITY TREATY—HOW IT WAS ANNULLED.

The reciprocity treaty of 1854 was terminated by act of Congress in January, 1865. The vote stood: Senate 33 to 8, absent 8; House 85 to 57, not voting 40. The following correspondence is interesting now that it is proposed by the Dominion of Canada to negotiate another treaty:

[Mr. Seward to Mr. Adams.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,

WASHINGTON, *January 18, 1865.*

SIR: I transmit herewith, authenticated under the seal of this Department, a copy of a joint resolution of the Congress of the United States, approved on this date, in regard to the termination of the treaty concluded between the United States and her Britannic Majesty on the 5th of June, 1854, commonly known as the reciprocity treaty. The President directs me, in compliance with the 5th article of that instrument, and with the requirement of the aforementioned resolution, to instruct you to communicate to her Majesty's government a certified copy of the inclosed papers, and formally to notify her Majesty's government, on the 17th of March next, or as soon thereafter as possible, that as it is considered to be no longer for the interest of the United States to continue the said treaty in force, it will terminate

and be of no further effect at the expiration of twelve months from the date upon which the notice shall be given.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, Esq., &c.

THIRTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION.

JOINT RESOLUTION providing for the termination of the reciprocity treaty of fifth of June, eighteen hundred and fifty-four, between the United States and Great Britain.

Whereas it is provided in the reciprocity treaty concluded at Washington the fifth of June, eighteen hundred and fifty-four, between the United States of the one part and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland of the other part, that this treaty "shall remain in force for ten years from the date at which it may come into operation, and further, until the expiration of twelve months after either of the high contracting parties shall give notice to the other of its wish to terminate the same;" and whereas it appears, by a proclamation of the President of the United States, bearing date sixteenth of March, eighteen hundred and fifty-five, that the treaty came into operation on that day; and whereas, further, it is no

longer for the interests of the United States to continue the same in force: Therefore,

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That notice be given of the termination of the reciprocity treaty, according to the provision therein contained for the termination of the same; and the President of the United States is hereby charged with the communication of such notice to the government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

Approved January 18, 1865.

Mr. Adams naturally, as an Eastern man, regretted the termination of the treaty.

[Mr. Adams to Mr. Seward.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
LONDON, *February 2, 1865.*

SIR: Previous to sending the replies to the various addresses to the President, copies of which I now transmit, I did not omit the injunction you placed upon me in your No. 1215, to submit the essential portions to the consideration of Lord Russell. To this end I had a conference with him on Saturday last. He observed, on my reading them, that the answers had always seemed to him judicious and proper.

Some general conversation followed, but not of a character important enough to report.

His lordship also made some reference to the measures in agitation at Washington for the repeal of the reciprocity treaty, to the passport system, and other arrangements on the frontier. He spoke of them with some appearance of regret. I ventured to say that I regretted them also. It was not yet positively certain that the Senate would pass the resolution that had come from the House, though I presumed it highly probable. In my belief all these measures were the result rather of a strong political feeling than of any commercial considerations. I should not disguise the fact of the prevalence of great irritation in consequence of the events that had taken place in Canada; neither should I conceal my regret, as it seemed to me to be one of the cardinal points of our policy, both in a political and commercial sense, to maintain the most friendly relations with the whole population along our northern border. His lordship intimated that if any of our measures had the effect of repressing the tendency to active sympathy with the other party in the war among the colonists, to that extent would do no harm.

I have the honor to be, sir, your obedient servant,

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD,
Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.

On the 23d of February Mr. Adams adds:

With respect to the reciprocity treaty, I still believed that the good sense of the country would appreciate the value of many of its provisions too strongly to be willing to sacrifice it entirely. On the Atlantic side it had greatly improved our commercial relations with the eastern provinces. Even at the West, where the greatest dissatisfaction was supposed to exist, I had perceived that the Chamber of Commerce of Detroit had issued an able report, explaining the advantages which had accrued to both sides from that compact; at the same time I was not prepared to say that some beneficial modifications might not be made to it. I should communicate to my government the views which had been presented by his lordship, and I hoped that as soon as the passions temporarily excited by late events had subsided, they would be favorably entertained by the people at home. Of the friendly disposition of the government itself I had no doubt.

I forgot to mention in its place that I read to Lord Russell that passage of your dispatch which proposes as a mode of meeting the questions growing out of the minute of instructions the exclusion from the rights of belligerents of vessels fitted out from British ports. His lordship replied that the measure had been fully considered, but that the Lord Chancellor thought there were insurmountable difficulties attending it.

I have the honor to be, sir, your obedient servant,

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD,
Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.

[Mr. Adams to Earl Russell.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
LONDON, *March 17, 1865.*

MY LORD: Under instructions from the Government of the United States, I have the honor to transmit to your lordship a certified copy of a joint resolution of the Congress of the United States, approved by the President on the 18th of January, 1865, in regard to the termination of the treaty concluded between the United States and Her Britannic Majesty on the 5th of June, 1854, commonly known as the reciprocity treaty.

I have the honor further to inform you that I am directed to notify Her Majesty's government that, as it is considered no longer for the interest of the United States to continue this treaty in force, it will terminate and be of no further effect, as provided by the terms of the instrument, at the expiration of twelve months from the date of the reception by your lordship of this notice.

I pray your lordship to accept the assurances of the highest consideration with which I have the honor to be, my lord,

Your lordship's most obedient servant,

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.

Right Hon. EARL RUSSELL, &c.

[Earl Russell to Mr. Adams.]

FOREIGN OFFICE, March 17, 1865.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of this day, containing a resolution of the Congress of the United States, approved by the President, in regard to the termination of the treaty of 1854, commonly known as the reciprocity treaty.

Her Majesty will instruct Sir Frederick Bruce, on his proceeding to Washington as Her Majesty's envoy extraordinary, upon the subject.

I have the honor to be, with the highest consideration, sir, your most obedient, humble servant, RUSSELL.

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, Esq., &c.

THE COURT OF COMMISSIONERS OF ALABAMA CLAIMS.

The Court of Commissioners of Alabama Claims, created by special act of Congress for the proper distribution of the Geneva award, completed its organization in this city at the State Department on Friday, July 24, adopted the rules of procedure given below, and adjourned to Thursday, the first day of October next.

The duties devolving upon this court are without precedent in the annals of equity or law. The payment to subjects of the United States of the award made to us by Great Britain will involve questions of vast importance affecting international law in all its phases, naturalization and citizenship. It is very probable peculiar questions, touching upon loyalty during the war, will arise. By the various decisions and deliberations of the court on these and other unforeseen questions precedents of considerable importance and novel in character will be established.

The court is composed of five judges, appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate. In this connection President Grant has made most excellent appointments, as each of the judges is of high and acknowledged legal standing and creditable judicial training, and without exception, we believe, each has had honorable experience on the bench in their respective States.

The chief justice is Hezekiah G. Wells, with Martin Ryerson, of New Jersey; Caleb Baldwin, of Iowa; Kenneth Rayner, of Mississippi, and William A. Porter, of Pennsylvania, as associates.

Mr. John Davis, of Massachusetts, who is thoroughly conversant with the various stages of the Alabama arbitration, is the clerk of the court.

Ex-Postmaster General Creswell has been designated as counsel of the United States, and will no doubt ably protect her interests.

Mr. Robert W. C. Mitchell, well known to the bar as an accurate and reliable short-hand writer, has been appointed official stenographer.

The rules adopted are as follows:

I. The clerk of the court is directed to file of record all claims which may be transmitted to him, and to enter the same on the docket in the order of time in which they may be received. Claims transmitted by mail may be addressed to "John Davis, Esq., clerk of the Court of Commissioners of Alabama Claims, Washington, D. C."

II. All claims must be verified by the affidavit of the claimant, and filed in this court within six months from the 22d day of July, 1874.

III. Every claim shall be stated in a petition addressed to the court, and signed by the claimant or his attorney. The petition shall set forth—

1. The title of the case, with the full christian names and surnames of the claimants; the places and times of their

birth, and the places of their residence between the 13th day of April, 1861, and the 9th day of April, 1865, both inclusive. If any of the claimants be naturalized citizens, an authenticated certificate of their naturalization shall be appended to the petition; and the petition shall also state whether the claimants, or any of them, have been naturalized in any other country than the United States, and, if not so naturalized, whether any, and what, steps have been taken toward being so naturalized.

2. A plain and concise statement of the facts and circumstances, giving place and date, free from argument, and stating all assignments or transfers, whether in whole or in part.

3. The prayer, in which the claimant shall state distinctly the amount for which he asks judgment, giving the amount of principal and interest separately.

The claimant shall also give the post office address of himself and of his attorney, and may append to his petition as exhibits the instruments or documents to which it refers, but shall not insert the same in the body of the petition.

IV. It shall not be necessary for the United States to deny specially, in writing, the validity of any claim; but a general denial of every claim shall be entered by record of the clerk, as of course, and thereby every material allegation shall be considered as put in issue by the United States.

Objections as to the law of the case may be raised by the United States at any stage of the proceedings by demurrer, stating the grounds of such objections with reasonable certainty.

V. Commissioners empowered by the circuit or district courts of the United States to take testimony may, with the leave of this court first obtained, take testimony in the circuits or districts for which they are respectively appointed, to be used in this court, and all testimony shall be taken in the manner and upon the terms and notice prescribed by the said circuit and district courts, respectively; but in no case shall a notice of less than twenty days be deemed sufficient, unless by special permission of a judge of this court.

VI. It shall be the duty of the counsel for the claimant, at least ten days before the day of hearing, to file with the clerk of the court twenty-five copies of a brief (printed in octavo form) of the argument in behalf of the claimant.

VII. Claims supported by printed testimony shall be first heard in the order

in which they stand on the docket, unless otherwise specially ordered by the court, and afterward those claims shall be heard in support of which the claimants may desire to introduce oral testimony.

VIII. In all cases where the amount claimed exceeds the sum of \$1,000 the claimant shall be at the expense of his own printing. In all cases not exceeding that amount the printing shall be done under the direction of the clerk of the court, at the expense of the United States.

IX. The time to be occupied in the oral arguments of counsel shall be regulated by the rule in force in the Supreme Court of the United States.

By order of the court:

JOHN DAVIS, *Clerk.*

WASHINGTON, July 24, 1874.

Upon reassembling the court will meet to deliberate upon claims at No. 1514 H street, in the city of Washington, where a suitable court-room and the necessary offices are being fitted up.

RAILROAD LANDS REVERTING TO THE PUBLIC DOMAIN.—The Attorney General, in an opinion recently rendered, decided that the General Land Office must construe the law relating to the forfeiture of land grants to railroads by the plain intent of Congress, and not by the common law, as heretofore has been the ruling. Under the terms of the several grants ten years is given in which to construct the roads. If this requirement is not met the land reverts to the public domain. In most cases the words of the grant are not mandatory as to the land officers. The ruling of the several commissioners has been uniformly to the effect that Congress must legislate in each case, and by distinct enactment return the land to the people. Under the most recent ruling the law will be fulfilled without remanding the matter back to the legislative arena, there to be the subject of discussion and bargain. The following railroads and grants are affected by this opinion: Jacksonville, Pensacola and Mobile, 160 miles, uncompleted; 600,000 acres reverted. Pensacola and Louisville, 43 miles; 165,000 acres. Alabama and Florida, 150 miles;

394,000 acres. Coosa and Tennessee, 35 miles; 67,784 acres. Mobile and Girard, 140 miles; 300,000 acres. North Louisiana and Texas, 90 miles; 250,000 acres.

St. Croix and Lake Superior, 220 miles; 1,180,000 acres. Jackson, Lansing and Saginaw, 50 miles; 150,000 acres. Total, 888 miles; 3,106,784 acres.

PENNSYLVANIA REPUBLICAN PLATFORM.

The resolutions unanimously adopted at the Republican State Convention held at Harrisburg on the 15th of August have the genuine ring. They are broad, clear, and comprehensive. Not only the prominent current questions affecting the vital interests of the State, but the broader national issues to be considered and decided on the grand principle of equal justice to all, are taken up and presented in their true bearings upon the body politic with a clearness and energy which assures the reader that the convention meant just what it said in its unanimous declaration of faith and practice.

The first resolution refers to the steady reduction of State and national indebtedness and taxation, and to the integrity and efficiency of the State and Federal administrations, and very justly urges those facts as affording the best evidence of good government and the strongest reasons for continued confidence in the party now in power. And just here it may be remarked that while the Democratic party have charged the General Government with defalcations and wasteful appropriations, the facts are that all the defalcations that have occurred since the Republican party came into power will not amount to one dollar in each million of dollars received and disbursed by the officials of the United States Government during the entire period since 1861. This indicates a degree of integrity that may challenge comparison with the best regulated financial systems—either public or private—in the history of the world. Equally unfounded is the charge of wasteful appropriations. During the continuance of the great rebellion, costing, when at its height, from two to

three millions of dollars per day, it was impossible to watch and check at all times the occurrence of extravagance and waste in the movements of a vast army reaching over thousands of miles of territory. But within the supervision of the official departments proper the figures published annually for public inspection show an intelligent and most scrupulous regard to economy in the use of the public treasure. What better evidence of an economical and careful government can we have than the testimony afforded by the condition of the public credit in 1860, and its strength in 1874. During the year the Democratic party went out of power the Government was borrowing money—to meet its ordinary expenses—at 12 per cent. interest per annum. To-day it is funding the war debt, forced upon the country by the Democratic party, at 5 per cent. per annum!

The second and third resolutions direct attention to the new State constitution, and its superiority over the former constitution. This revival of the constitution is a measure that devolves, in the progress of increased and increasing population and development, upon all the States, and calls for attention at some period of their material progress. The crowning glory in the case under consideration comes from the decided improvements embraced in the provisions of the new instrument, and in its peculiar adaptation to accomplish the great objects in view—a higher standard of legislation, better laws, and a purer administration. And now if the people expect the spirit and letter of the new constitution to be faithfully carried out, what party can so well put the machinery in motion as the one that prepared

the constitution, which, after due deliberation, was approved and accepted by the people.

The fourth resolution, with a view to securing still greater integrity on the part of State officers, asks for such legislation as will substitute salaries for fees—the salaries to be such as will afford a fair and just compensation for the services rendered. This will generally be conceded to be a step in the right direction. The subject should command not only the attention of the Pennsylvania Legislature, but also of other States, and of Congress itself. We hope the movement here inaugurated will be practically nationalized.

The fifth resolution points with pride to the common-school system of the State. It is, indeed, a noble tribute to its founders, and to all who have been instrumental in placing it upon the broad basis which guarantees its efficiency and permanency.

The sixth resolution is national in its character, and indorses that policy which harmonizes and protects every branch of industry alike throughout the national domain, and legislates with a view to their fullest development. It disapproves of further land grants to railroad corporations; is in favor of river improvements, cheap transportation, and profitable markets for agricultural and manufacturing labor; of bringing the producer and consumer nearer together; of adjusting the relations between capital and labor so that each may enjoy an equitable share of profits; and of compelling wealthy corporations to conform strictly to law—all for the purpose of preserving the honor of the nation, and developing the immense resources of every section of the Union, and advancing the social and mutual prosperity of all its industrial and laboring classes. These broad, orthodox views and purposes will be indorsed by every well disposed and patriotic citizen from Maine to Oregon. Let us all, and each in his individual capacity, labor for the accomplishment of these noble aspirations.

The seventh resolution finds in the recent paralysis of trade, and especially of the manufacturing interests, increasing evidence in support of the protective policy. The reduction of the tariff and increased importations from Europe helped to bring on the panic, and has rendered recovery from it more difficult. There is great force of truth in this resolution, and we commend it earnestly to the special attention of Congress.

The eighth resolution condemns in severe terms—but none too severe—the attempt to establish a free-trade treaty with Canada through the agency of reciprocity. The consideration of this measure, or any similar one, it is justly claimed, belongs “properly and of right” to the popular branch of the Government. On its own merits the proposed treaty is condemned, not only by manufacturing States, but by the agricultural interests, and by every other interest and industry throughout the country—excepting by those only who are engaged in and pecuniarily profited by the trade with the Dominion. The resolution is timely, and can not fail to have great weight with those who may be engaged in the final disposal of this purely Canadian and British free-trade measure.

The ninth and tenth resolutions refer to the “White League” follies of the Democratic party, recapitulates the *status* of the colored race under the provisions of the amendments to the Constitution, and calls upon Congress to see that they are protected in their rights. Congress knows its duty, as does also the Executive, in reference to the *status* of the colored race, and no leniency can or will be shown to those who attempt to abridge their constitutional rights.

By the eleventh resolution the national banking system is indorsed, with a recommendation to make it free to all. The arguments of the resolution are logical. The people ought to have the privilege of exercising their own judgment as to the amount of banking capital required in their respective communities.

The twelfth resolution favors specie payments at the earliest practicable day. That covers the whole ground, and should govern any legislation that may be deemed necessary on this subject.

The thirteenth resolution remembers the soldiers and sailors of the Republic with gratitude for their patriotic services, as every good citizen will ever continue to do.

The fourteenth resolution recommends the good Governor Hartranft for the Presidency. This is all very well, but a little premature. A year hence will be time enough to take up that question. In the meantime let us have peace.

Something about a "third term" was

presented in the form of a resolution by a volunteer. The convention thought that at least to be a little premature, and it was voted down without debate.

Altogether the resolutions are sound, conservative, and strong. They will have the approval of every patriotic heart in the Union. We commend them in their spirit and views to the Democracy and the "White Leagues"—synonymous terms, by their own admission—sincerely hoping that they may see the propriety of getting once more upon a good, broad national platform. Even though it is constructed of Republican materials, they are sound and enduring.

REVIVAL OF TERRORISM.

It is quite evident that with the barbaric folly heretofore so noticeable in the South, the Democracy of that section have again set in operation the machinery of terror and assassination. Taking advantage of the feeling aroused in their ranks by agitation over the civil rights bill, or at least making use of this pretence, and inspired to recklessness by the hope that has been systematically spread among them of a prospective defeat of the Republican party, the horrible Kuklux organization is being rehabilitated as the "White Leagues," and again there is a systematic effort to suppress and demoralize the colored vote in every community where its numbers are potential, by creating riot, attacking political meetings, and assassinating the principal Republicans. This statement is no exaggeration. The facts are slowly coming in to prove it. The great difficulty that has always existed in regard to legislative and executive dealings with the South—the white South, we mean—is that it is almost impossible to make the demoralization which was produced by slavery in the moral character of the dominant race of that section apparent to the people of the old free States. Hence, there has been a con-

tinued tinkering with public sentiment, a tendency to assail the Southern Republicans as the chief cause of misrule in the South; a yielding to the demands of the men who plotted rebellion, committed treason, and have since incited to murder and outrage at every opportunity if thereby they were only able to gratify their desire for dominion over the former slaves and their lust for political power. The South is, in large degree, an introverted community. On questions of sectional and race politics it is a pyramid on its apex. What the public morals of a free community, cradled in free discussion and nurtured with the idea of respecting all men's rights, believe to be honest, just, equitable, and usual, this pro-Southern feeling regards as dishonest, unjust, inequitable, and so unusual as to be the grossest of outrages. We of the old free States are continually forgetting these potent facts, and the old South as constantly takes advantages of our simplicity.

In this way the cause of republican government suffers, and the lives of men are often but mere bagatelles against the fury of those whose rule or ruin policy is before us. Another, though second-

any cause of Northern misapprehension lies in the systematic misuse of the press, and of all its news agencies in the Southern States.

A forcible illustration of this may be seen in the recent "raw-head-and-bloody-bones" business of the Austin riots, so-called. It was difficult to localize the scene of the affair, and most newspaper readers remain in doubt whether Austin is in Arkansas or Mississippi. The Associated Press dispatches, which is nearly all we have to rely upon for the facts, generally consisted of extracts from the *Avalanche* and the *Appeal*, daily papers of Memphis, Tennessee, widely known as the bitterest and most blatant advocates of race-hatred and pro-Southern policies. Few persons, it is to be feared stopped, to analyze, but accepted as true the statements thus made as correct in general, even if a little over-colored. Yet there is nothing in them to show by whom the riot began. It was evident, too, that politics had nothing to do with it, and toward the last it became apparent that the inciting cause was the shooting by a white man of a colored girl. It is not certain that this death was designed, but it is acknowledged that there was an attempt to murder some colored man. The dispatches read altogether like those we wot of in *ante bellum* days, when the object was "to fire the Southern heart." The purpose now is to arouse the Democratic passions and the white man's hatred—a meaner and more malignant purpose than that of seeking the nationalization of slavery or the dismemberment of the Union.

A number of private letters have been received from sources entitled to credit. In extracts here given the name and address of the writer are suppressed, because to publish them would be to imperil his life. From Alabama, under date of August 11, the following is copied:

"A cold-blooded political assassination was committed in the county of Sumter, in this State, on the first day of

this month, the circumstances of which, as far as I have been able to learn, are as follows:

"About eight months since a gentleman named W. P. Billings, with his wife and one child, moved from the State of Missouri, where he had been living, into Sumter county. He there purchased a plantation, which he cultivated, and at the same time practiced his profession (that of a lawyer) with considerable success. Soon after he had come to Sumter county, Mr. Billings wrote to Congressman Charles Hays, at Washington, that he had become a permanent resident of the county in Mr. Hays' Congressional district, and referred him to Congressmen Stewart and Wells, and Senator Boggy, all of Missouri. All of these gentlemen gave Mr. Billings an excellent character, and not an act of his during his residence in their State tends to show that he was in any way unworthy of it. He was allowed to live peaceably in Sumter county until, in an unfortunate moment, he announced that he was a Republican, and afterward was elected chairman of the Republican Executive Committee of that county. Then commenced the persecutions that finally resulted in his death. His former acquaintances in the Democratic party ceased to speak to him, and he was thoroughly and completely ostracised. But Mr. Billings was a man of more than ordinary firmness and energy, and he continued to deliver Republican speeches and organize the Republicans in his county. On the first day of the month a Republican meeting was held at Livingston, about eight miles from Mr. Billings' house, at which he delivered a Republican speech. About sunset of that day the report of three or four shots, accompanied by cheers or yells, were heard by several persons who were sitting on the portico before Mr. Billings' residence. But nothing was thought of it, as the reports of hunters' guns are common in that locality. The next morning the body of Billings was found lying upon the roadside within half a mile of his house. The horse that he had been riding was also killed.

"There is no doubt that Billings was killed solely because he was a Republican. He is the only white man who, for several years, has dared to go into Sumter county and work for the success of the Republican party. His life is the penalty for his temerity.

"Unless these murderers are arrested and punished, a repetition of the Sumter murder may be expected in every county in the State where it is practicable to

kill, intimidate, or drive away the Republican leaders, and keep the colored men from the ballot-boxes on election day.

"About three weeks since Adam C. Felder, a chancellor, delivered a Republican speech in Greenville, Butler county. Rotten eggs were thrown at him while speaking, and while returning from the meeting to his lodging a mob collected and fired some fifteen pistol shots at himself and the persons who accompanied him. Felder escaped unhurt to his lodging-house, which was surrounded by the mob, and it was with great difficulty that the sheriff and his defenders could prevent the mob from breaking into the house and murdering Chancellor Felder and Colonel Sewell, his host.

"In Coffee county, recently, a meeting of colored men, women, and children were fired into, and some eleven persons

were more or less injured by the shots. I have not yet sufficient information to state the number who were killed outright.

"In Hale county, Jim Greene, a colored man, attempted to make a Republican speech. A crowd of roughs drew their knives and pistols upon him, and compelled him to desist.

"Instances of this kind are occurring daily. They are distorted and justified by the Democratic press. In short, the old Kuklux spirit is revived, and we must expect all of its accompaniments. A recent decision of Judge Bradley, in the Grant Parish cases, delivered at New Orleans, has induced the Kuklux to believe that the United States courts would no longer take cognizance of their cases. If possible, we will convince them that they are in error."

PUT NONE BUT UPRIGHT MEN IN OFFICE.

The period has again come round when the people of many of the States are called upon to select men to represent them in the Legislature and public offices of the respective States and in Congress. This is an important trust; for upon the attention given to the duty of selecting upright rulers and statesmen the prosperity of the nation and welfare of the people largely depend. It matters not that our national resources are abundant, that nature has given us an unexceptionable climate and a fruitful soil, that this earth is annually blessed with sunshine and shower, guaranteeing abundant harvests, and that these blessings—the treasures of the soil, mines, forests, and sea—are all, under the hand of industry, converted into available wealth and means of comfort and enjoyment, yet the people will be made to suffer and be brought to humiliation if they have not honest legislators and upright rulers. It is truthfully remarked that "The best gift of God to nations is the gift of upright men, and that country is poor whose citizens are not noble, and that republic is poor which is not governed by noble men selected by its citizens."

When Moses had been three months

gone from Egypt at the head of a nation of two and a half millions of people, acting in the double capacity of law-giver and judge, he received a friendly visit from his father-in-law, Jethro, the priest and prince of the Midianites. When he saw Moses sitting to judge the people "from morning unto the evening," he said to him at the close of a day's severe and exhaustive labor: "Moses, the thing thou doest is not good; thou wilt surely wear away, for this thing is too heavy for thee; thou art not able to perform it thyself alone. Harken now unto my voice, I will give thee counsel." Moses listened to this governor of a little nation in the wilderness, and "did all that he said," as the inspired narrative informs us. And what were his instructions? "Provide out of all the people able men, such as fear God, men of truth, hating covetousness," for rulers. Can we, in selecting our rulers and representatives do better than follow these instructions? Can we afford to do less?

It is remarked by a discriminating writer that "The signs of decay in the life of a nation show themselves, as soon as anywhere else, in the character of the men who are called to govern it. When they seek their own ends and not the

public weal; when they abandon principles and administer according to the personal interest of cliques; when they forsake righteousness and call upon insatiable selfishness for counsel; and when the laws and the framework of the Government are but so many instruments of self-aggrandizement, and of oppression, and of wrong, then the nation can not be far from decadence."

No people whose patriotism has not become a thing of the past can afford to put any but upright, intelligent, public-spirited working men in office. The very best citizens that can be found are none too good to be put in nomination. And a really capable, patriotic, public-spirited citizen, when he becomes the choice of the people, will rarely decline the duty of serving his country, even if it should be at the sacrifice to some extent of personal interests. But beware of men who are sliding round among the citizens in the community and wire pulling to secure their own nomination.

OFFICE SEEKERS.—There are some men who believe that the highest object for which a political party was created was to give them an office for the term of their natural lives. If a party fails in this, its mission is ended, and a regiment of disappointed office-seekers offer themselves as pioneers in an independent party movement. Every year we have a fresh batch of these patriotic gentlemen. They are willing to suffer for any new party that can give them fat offices. They are willing to make an affidavit that they are competent to fill any office from that of President down. They agree to serve in Congress, or would take a Cabinet position, or even a foreign mission if the party can do no better by them. For the past twelve years the Republican party has been afflicted with these self-constituted and natural born office-hunters. They have swarmed around the party wigwam like flies around a sugar-hogshead, and to

brush them away is to imperil the party by driving them out of its ranks. But their absence has not been noticed. They depart, and are followed by others who buzz for a season, and, like the first, take their flight when the sweets of office are denied them. So it would be to the end. We shall have our annual desertions of men who think themselves aggrieved because the people or the appointing power fail to recognize their peculiar fitness for the high offices to which they aspire. But the party lives on; its offices find good men to fill them, and the places made vacant are filled by others who join the standard of Republicanism, not to obtain its offices, but to sustain its glorious principles. Look over the field of political aspirants who to-day are clamoring for a new party movement.

Aside from those of Democratic faith who have opposed the Republican party on general principles and purely party grounds, who are they? Disappointed men! Chronic office-seekers who have failed to sharpen their axes at the Republican grindstone! They know that the party has weighed them and found them wanting, and now they labor for its overthrow in the vain hope of securing from its ruins the coveted offices denied them in the temple itself. We trust the time will never come when men, no matter how high their standing or potent their influence, shall be kept within the party by promise or gift of office. If their attachment to the party is simply a desire to fill its offices, the sooner they leave the better. Their presence can give no strength—their departure will relieve us of a burden.

We hold the Republican party to be the people's organization for the purpose of securing good government and an honest administration of affairs. When an office is to be filled, either by election or appointment, the people have a right to demand the best selection possible for the place. If men have the merit and the people desire their services they will call them to the front. To seek an office

and claim it as a right should be regarded as the best evidence that the applicant is unfitted to hold it. Let the Republicans everywhere bestow the offices within their gift on the very best men who will accept them, and we shall have

a party that no combination can break up, a party that will stand through years to come, as it has through an eventful past, the true exponent of the popular will, the acknowledged defense of constitutional liberty.

HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL LESSONS.

The following tables, pregnant with valuable deductions and lessons, are presented as original compilations, in part prepared for presentation to the recent convention of scientists at Hartford, by Professor R. B. Elliott, of the Treasury, and in part for these pages. The facts embodied have not heretofore been gathered in such compendious form. If the highest music is only mathematics set to harmony, it is quite certain that these figures are history reduced to outlines. In this case the outlines are so bold and comprehensive, however, that the imagination readily clothes the skeleton with flesh and form, while memory and reason bring back the motives and results that animated and crowned the work whose magnitude is indicated by the tables herein offered. A naturalist will, it is stated, reconstruct the frame of any animal, as it once lived and moved, from one bone or even a portion thereof. The skillful historian and political student will find less difficulty in gathering into one vivid whole the facts of American history and character from the dry bones of statistical information herein embodied. The first table gives the population for a century. It shows in unmistakable form the rapid rise and growth of the Republic. And in even a more marked degree it shows the loss to the nation by the terrible civil strife which seamed and scarred the ninth decade. Statesmen, publicists, and students will find ample food for thought and study therein, while the business man and the toiler will readily read as they run the terrible lessons of human cost resulting from the ambitions of sectional and political struggle.

TABLE I.

Population of the United States (including Territories) for each year from 1780 to 1880, careful estimates having been made for the years other than those of the decennial enumeration.

1780.	3,070,000, estimated.
1781.	3,144,000, estimated.
1782.	3,221,000, estimated.
1783.	3,300,000, estimated.
1784.	3,382,000, estimated.
1785.	3,467,000, estimated.
1786.	3,554,000, estimated.
1787.	3,644,000, estimated.
1788.	3,737,000, estimated.
1789.	3,832,000, estimated.
1790.	3,929,214, enumerated.
1791.	4,043,000, estimated.
1792.	4,162,000, estimated.
1793.	4,287,000, estimated.
1794.	4,417,000, estimated.
1795.	4,552,000, estimated.
1796.	4,692,000, estimated.
1797.	4,838,000, estimated.
1798.	4,990,000, estimated.
1799.	5,146,000, estimated.
1800.	5,308,483, enumerated.
1801.	5,478,000, estimated.
1802.	5,653,000, estimated.
1803.	5,833,000, estimated.
1804.	6,019,000, estimated.
1805.	6,209,000, estimated.
1806.	6,405,000, estimated.
1807.	6,606,000, estimated.
1808.	6,812,000, estimated.
1809.	7,023,000, estimated.
1810.	7,239,881, enumerated.
1811.	7,453,000, estimated.
1812.	7,673,000, estimated.
1813.	7,898,000, estimated.
1814.	8,131,000, estimated.
1815.	8,369,000, estimated.
1816.	8,614,000, estimated.
1817.	8,866,000, estimated.
1818.	9,124,000, estimated.
1819.	9,388,000, estimated.
1820.	9,658,153, enumerated.
1821.	9,939,000, estimated.
1822.	10,229,000, estimated.
1823.	10,527,000, estimated.
1824.	10,834,000, estimated.

1825.....	11,151,000,	estimated.
1826.....	11,476,000,	estimated.
1827.....	11,810,000,	estimated.
1828.....	12,153,000,	estimated.
1829.....	12,505,000,	estimated.
1830.....	12,866,020,	enumerated.
1831.....	13,221,000,	estimated.
1832.....	13,590,000,	estimated.
1833.....	13,974,000,	estimated.
1834.....	14,373,000,	estimated.
1835.....	14,786,000,	estimated.
1836.....	15,213,000,	estimated.
1837.....	15,655,000,	estimated.
1838.....	16,112,000,	estimated.
1839.....	16,584,000,	estimated.
1840.....	17,069,453,	enumerated.
1841.....	17,591,000,	estimated.
1842.....	18,132,000,	estimated.
1843.....	18,694,000,	estimated.
1844.....	19,276,000,	estimated.
1845.....	19,878,000,	estimated.
1846.....	20,500,000,	estimated.
1847.....	21,143,000,	estimated.
1848.....	21,805,000,	estimated.
1849.....	22,489,000,	estimated.
1850.....	23,191,876,	enumerated.
1851.....	23,995,000,	estimated.
1852.....	24,802,000,	estimated.
1853.....	25,615,000,	estimated.
1854.....	26,433,000,	estimated.
1855.....	27,256,000,	estimated.
1856.....	28,083,000,	estimated.
1857.....	28,916,000,	estimated.
1858.....	29,753,000,	estimated.
1859.....	30,596,000,	estimated.
1860.....	31,443,321,	enumerated.
1861.....	32,064,000,	estimated.
1862.....	32,704,000,	estimated.
1863.....	33,365,000,	estimated.
1864.....	34,046,000,	estimated.
1865.....	34,748,000,	estimated.
1866.....	35,469,000,	estimated.
1867.....	36,211,000,	estimated.
1868.....	36,973,000,	estimated.
1869.....	37,756,000,	estimated.
1870.....	38,558,371,	enumerated.
1871.....	39,672,000,	estimated.
1872.....	40,811,000,	estimated.
1873.....	41,976,000,	estimated.
1874.....	43,167,000,	estimated.
1875.....	44,384,000,	estimated.
1876.....	45,627,000,	estimated.
1877.....	46,896,000,	estimated.
1878.....	48,191,000,	estimated.
1879.....	49,511,000,	estimated.
1880.....	50,858,000,	estimated.

Examination of the foregoing table, and further analysis of its figures, taking each decade as a basis, shows these notable results:

Total increase of Population for each decade over the preceding one.

1790..... 859,214

1800.....	1,379,269
1810.....	1,714,517
1820.....	2,635,153
1830.....	3,207,867
1840.....	4,203,433
1850.....	6,122,423
1860.....	8,251,445
1870.....	7,115,050
1880, (estimated).....	12,299,629

It will be seen on closer analysis that these figures fail to show a uniform ratio of increase, as will be seen by the following:

Ratio of increase and decrease for each decade as compared with the one preceding.

Year.	Relative increase.	Relative decrease compared with the increase of the preceding decade.
1790.....		
1800.....	520,055	
1810.....	335,248	185,807
1820.....	921,636	
1830.....	572,714	348,922
1840.....	995,566	
1850.....	1,918,990	
1860.....	2,129,020	713,030
1870.....		1,136,395
1880.....	5,184,579	

It will thus be seen that in three decades there has been a relative decrease of the aggregate increase of population, as compared with the decade immediately preceding. It is evident that in the two first instances it resulted from the commercial and industrial depression following and preceding two wars; that of establishing the Union, and that of protecting its maritime and civic rights against a foreign foe. In the decade ending 1860, there is a marked decrease in the aggregate increase over the preceding one. It was undoubtedly owing to the disorders, material and mental, that preceded the outbreak of civil war. In the next decade, the memorable one that closed in 1870, there is apparent an actual and large decrease in the average increase of population, amounting to a

to a total of 1,136,895; and estimating upon the basis of the enumerated increase made in the decade preceding, as well as of the careful estimate made of the probable increase for the current decade ending in 1880, the real decrease of the total population that we should have had in 1870, if no war had intervened, could not be but little less than three million persons, (3,000,000.) The total population, had "piping times of peace" blessed us with plenty and speed, would certainly have been over 42,000,000.

Here is a lesson to ponder well. Putting aside all pecuniary cost, such as will be exhibited by other tables, and regarding only that precious quality of human life, is there not in this fearful aggregation, as shown in these sadly momentous figures, enough to cause every thinking man, whatever side he took in the recent conflict, to stand aside and reflect whether those by whose acts as trusted sectional and party leaders so terrible a struggle was inaugurated, are the proper persons to be again in-

trusted with power? The question is: Shall that party be rehabilitated which having for at least forty years had control of the National Government, closed its so-called successful career in the opening throes of a terrible civil war; the early hours of which its political philosophy encouraged, its practice stimulated into action, and for which in a large degree its leaders and followers fought or encouraged, accordingly as they lived North or South? It is not possible! Whatever may be the fate of parties, whatever the character of future opposition organizations, it is not possible that the political system and policy against whose doors lie an actual decrease in population of over eleven hundred thousand lives can have any future. It is written of it as of the Babylonian King, "Tried in the balance and found wanting."

The next table shows in a remarkably condensed form, whose value will be readily perceived, the relations of the national expenditures to population:

TABLE II.

Expenditures of the United States Government, estimated population, and expenditures per capita by approximate administration periods of four years, from the organization of the Government to the 30th of June, 1873.

Dates.	Expenditures of the United States Government.	Estimated population at middle of period.	Average annual expenditure per capita.
From January 1, 1791, to December 31, 1792, two years.....	\$11,367,322 30	4,102,500	\$1 38.5
Four years ended December 31, 1796.....	23,245,003 55	4,484,500	1 29.6
Four years ended December 31, 1800.....	33,724,062 71	5,068,000	1 66.4
Four years ended December 31, 1804.....	33,959,946 28	5,743,000	1 47.8
Four years ended December 31, 1808.....	55,879,090 91	6,505,000	1 37.8
Four years ended December 31, 1812.....	47,214,312 11	7,346,440	1 64.1
Four years ended December 31, 1816.....	130,542,794 72	8,250,000	8 95.6
Four years ended December 31, 1820.....	79,807,059 17	9,256,000	2 15.5
Four years ended December 31, 1824.....	65,830,317 79	10,378,000	1 58.6
Four years ended December 31, 1828.....	65,429,085 77	11,643,000	1 40.5
Four years ended December 31, 1832.....	62,852,928 80	13,043,510	1 20.5
Four years ended December 31, 1836.....	90,086,199 61	14,579,500	1 54.4
Four years ended December 31, 1840.....	122,319,929 61	16,348,000	1 87.0
From January 1, 1841, to June 30, 1845, four and a half years.....	108,834,416 15	18,554,000	1 30.3
Four years ended June 30, 1849.....	173,382,131 80	21,143,000	2 05.0
Four years ended June 30, 1853.....	181,491,378 23	23,995,000	1 89.1
Four years ended June 30, 1857.....	254,538,688 13	27,256,000	2 33.4
Four years ended June 30, 1861.....	273,401,624 42	30,596,000	2 23.4
Four years ended June 30, 1865.....	2,350,000,808 35	33,305,000	25 02.2
Four years ended June 30, 1869.....	1,576,829,070 67	34,211,000	10 88.6
Four years ended June 30, 1873.....	{ 1,169,693,957 00 } 311,125,633 88*	{ 39,672,000 }	{ 7 37.1 } 1 96.0

* Expenditures of the four years ended 30th June, 1873, less \$383,568,323 12, expenses growing out of the war.

Again the lesson of Democratic war is taught with startling vividness! From 1861, when the expenditure *per capita* averaged \$2 23.4, to 1865, when it had reached the large average of \$25 10.2, the historian and writer may easily trace the cost of civil strife. From the large decrease of the natural and to-be-expected increase of population to the great increase in the cost of government, owing to the need of maintaining the Union and defending the Republic, there is a logical sequence, illustrating in crimson hues the law of cause and effect. Nor do these figures give more than an approximate idea of the public cost of those terrible years. Eleven States sought to maintain a government of their own, and for over four years fought with heroic persistency and at terrible sacrifice of blood and treasure to accomplish their dire purpose. The necessities of their position was such that the cost to the Confederacy was even greater in proportion than it was to the Government and people of the Union. The cost to them added to the cost to us—the latter being now in part and necessarily borne by the defeated South—could not have been less than \$40 *per capita*.

To these formidable tables two others are added—necessarily important in illustrating the general theme of national growth and governmental cost, which are given without further comment:

TABLE III.

Amount of the principal of the public debt at dates near the commencement of each administration since the organization of the Government.

January 1, 1793.....	\$80,352,634 04
January 1, 1797.....	82,064,479 33
January 1, 1801.....	83,038,059 80
January 1, 1805.....	82,312,150 50
January 1, 1809.....	57,023,192 09
January 1, 1813.....	55,962,827 57
January 1, 1817.....	123,491,965 16
January 1, 1821.....	89,987,427 66
January 1, 1825.....	83,788,432 71
January 1, 1829.....	58,421,413 67
January 1, 1833.....	7,001,698 83
January 1, 1837.....	3,308,124 07
January 1, 1841.....	13,594,480 73

July 1, 1845.....	\$15,925,303 01
July 1, 1849.....	63,061,858 69
July 1, 1853.....	59,803,117 70
July 1, 1857.....	28,699,831 85
July 1, 1861.....	90,580,873 72
July 1, 1865.....	2,680,647,869 74
July 1, 1869.....	2,588,452,213 94
July 1, 1873.....	2,234,482,993 20

TABLE IV.

Receipts and expenditures of the United States Government, by periods of four years, from the organization of the Government to the 30th of June, 1873.

Dates.	Receipts.	Expenditures.
From Jan 1, 1791, to Dec. 31, 1792..	\$3,079,911 50	\$11,367,322 30
For four years ended—		
December 31, 1796.....	24 624,492 25	22,245,003 55
December 31, 1800.....	35,063,514 20	33,726,002 71
December 31, 1804.....	50,831,654 91	33,959,946 28
December 31, 1808.....	62,579,305 46	35,879,090 91
December 31, 1812.....	41,381,454 25	47,214,312 11
December 31, 1816.....	89,009,324 01	130,542,794 72
December 31, 1820.....	97,436,496 46	79,807,059 17
December 31, 1824.....	74,727,686 71	65,830,817 79
December 31, 1828.....	94,831,285 42	65,429,085 77
December 31, 1832.....	110,066,015 37	62,852,928 80
December 31, 1836.....	141,907,244 98	99,086,099 61
December 31, 1840.....	102,219,579 72	122,319,229 61
From Jan 1, 1841, to June 30, 1845, four and a half years.....	104,430,539 79	108,834,416 15
Four years ended:		
June 30, 1849.....	123,139,659 00	173,382,131 80
June 30, 1853.....	207,196,612 91	181,494,378 23
June 30, 1857.....	282,172,927 89	254,528,688 13
June 30, 1861.....	197,719,369 82	273,401,624 42
June 30, 1865.....	702,980,629 33	350,490,808 35
June 30, 1869.....	1,825,248,460 96	1,576,829,70 67
June 30, 1873.....	1,502,424,494 75	1,169,693,957 00

The lesson that has been drawn from these tables is again amplified by the last one given. There is, however, another lesson, equally as valuable, to be deduced from them. That is, the proofs they so strikingly offer of the comparative economy of the Republican Administrations, which have been in power since the civil war begun. As for the cost of war, its bloody account is charged against Democratic ambitions and the sectional policy it fostered. Whether its cost was or not over large, (which can be truthfully denied,) the Democracy have no right to take issue thereon, for, as between the relative economy of Democratic and Republican administrations, the comparison can only be made

as between the cost of peace establishments. No Republican need fear that a text-book for the political orator, and comparison. The foregoing figures may offer pregnant themes for the writer.

THE CONDITION OF TEXAS—RESULTS OF DEMOCRATIC TRIUMPH.

It is the fashion now-a-days to decry indiscriminately the motives and conduct of Southern Republicans. This, too, by men and journals belonging to that political organization. There is an old Italian proverb, arising from the wholesale plunder of art treasures, by the elder Napoleon, which says: "Not all Frenchmen are thieves, but most of them are." The critics referred to enlarge and paraphrase this by arguing from the premises that "not all white Republicans in the South are thieves, but most of them are; while the negro race there are wholly given over to corruption and wrong-doing."

In the laudable effort to correct abuses our friends' zeal goes "beyond their tint," as Pat said of a doctor's treatment of his friend's ailment. The patient is likely to die under the course pursued. It will be worth while to temper criticism with a generous comprehension of surrounding difficulties, and but fair to keep in view the condition of such Southern States as have passed under Democratic rule. Texas will serve as an illustration. Here is a letter from an active and fair-minded man living there:

"Texas was promised a change under Democratic rule, and the promised change has come, indeed, and a sad one it is. The present Governor promised the people peace, harmony, impartiality, economy, and retrenchment; but to what have all these fine promises come? The first act of the present incumbent, and the newly-elected Legislature, was to try Republican judges; first, they tried them, and, after they were found innocent, they were, by a new dodge, turned out of office. This was an invitation to the lawless to begin their havoc under Democratic rule, and they soon took the hint. The six-shooter, bowie-knife, and lynch-law are now supreme in Texas, under the pretense of

hanging horse thieves. Under this plea, not less than twenty-five men are daily assassinated in the State. Every well-minded man and woman throughout the Union will acknowledge that the greater number of those so assassinated are not horse thieves, but that many have had the misfortune to be good Republicans; this is their great crime. Now, no one else but Governor Coke and his co-operators are responsible for the innocent blood so spilled. Thus was the first promise fulfilled.

"Now, in the second case, the salary of every State officer has been increased, with additional allowances for clerks. This is Democratic retrenchment. The Governor promised to pay the floating debt in ninety days; this promise, like all others of his, turned out deceptive. Governor Davis was offered eighty-six cents on the dollar for the same State paper that can now bring nothing at the North, and goes begging at the State capital for fifty cents on the dollar. This has ruined many a poor man who confided in Governor Coke and the present Democratic State administration, and I hope it will be a lesson to our people.

"It is the misfortune of Texas that its interests seem to be as remote from the consideration of her sister States as her frontiers from their location; and yet I can not see why they would not consider what her fate is now under that Democratic rule to which their indifference consigned her, and which the Cabinet at Washington sealed in January last. Now, then, whilst some of those Northern States are electing Democratic Governors, on the basis of certain erroneous notions, promulgated by the *New York Times* and others, namely, "the questionable integrity of some Republican States," I would ask them to consider candidly what the result to the nation at large would be, if, in place of Texas, its administration would have been given over to Governor Coke. I wonder also if President Grant is aware that this party begins to applaud him for the course he then took, and to flatter themselves that he will sustain them. I wonder also that the New

York Times, Harper's Weekly, and other prominent Republican papers that are so urgent on reform and on censuring Republicans generally, never have any fault to find with the chivalrous Democracy of Texas, with six-shooter and bowie-knife in hand. Not one of these great reformers has a word in favor of the brave and persecuted Republicans South—those who have risked their lives and property a thousand times for the Union and the freedom of all its citizens. If the late war was for the resto-

ration of the Union, and if the integrity of the Union is a vital national item, it is not by thwarting Union men and Union organizations that the general good of the country will be promoted. It is easy to weaken the struggle of loyalty to the Constitution, particularly in the far West; but the day may come when omissions and commissions may rank together, and an oversight may take the place of a wrong fatally and irretrievably inflicted."

THE NATIONAL DEAF-MUTE COLLEGE.

From the earliest times it has been the custom of society to class its deaf-mutes with the insane and idiotic, as persons incapable of taking care of their own affairs. For centuries no attempts were made to instruct them; it was even supposed that they were incapable of education. In many countries the authorities winked at, if they did not openly encourage, the destruction of deaf and dumb children. The advent of Christianity, while it prevented their destruction as useless members of society, did little more to better their condition. Under the laws of the most enlightened and advanced of the later Roman law-givers, which have to a great extent formed the basis of all subsequent laws, deaf-mutes were not allowed to inherit or bequeath property, and could not buy or sell without the assistance of a guardian. In the middle ages they were placed under much the same restrictions.

A deaf-mute, even at the present day, especially if uneducated, is always an object of pity, and often (to our shame be it said) of charity too. It is only within the present century that experience has shown that the loss of hearing is no more an evidence of mental incapacity than the loss of a leg or a tooth. The condition of an uneducated deaf-mute is more unfortunate than the condition of an ordinary uneducated person; but one is as capable of a high state of culture in every way as the other. It is a misfortune to be deaf and dumb; but

it is by no means so great a misfortune that people are justified in setting the deaf and dumb apart in a class by themselves as specially deserving of pity and assistance, except in the one matter of education.

The art of teaching the deaf has been of slow growth until very recently. It would be a matter of wonder and astonishment if we did not find, even in the darkest pages of their annals, the record of some good men who were impressed with their pitiable condition, and, in exceptional cases, made efforts to educate them. As far back as 690 B. C. we find record of a deaf-mute being taught to speak and to repeat words and sentences after his teacher. About 1550 Pedro Ponce de Leon instructed very successfully several deaf-mutes in Spain. He relates, as evidences of his success, that one of his pupils was ordained as a parish priest, and performed the duties of his office acceptably, and another became a military officer, and distinguished himself in martial exercises. About thirty years after the death of Ponce de Leon, a Spanish monk, Juan Paulo Bonet, published a treatise in which was the first engraving of the single-hand alphabet, which he claimed to have invented. The double-hand alphabet, which is used chiefly in England, was invented by a Scotchman in 1680. The man to whom above all others the deaf-mutes of the world are indebted for the means of instruction is the Abbé de

l'Epee. He devoted his whole life to the work. His first pupils were gathered at Paris in 1755 entirely from the poorer classes, he refusing to take any from the rich. He at first endeavored to teach his pupils to speak and to understand the ideas of others by the motions of the lips; but becoming dissatisfied with the results of this system, he seized the natural signs which are used among savage tribes in communicating with each other and which are prevalent to some extent among uneducated deaf-mutes as offering a better medium of instruction. These signs he added to, improved, and systematized; and the result was the system of signs, which, altered and improved as experience has suggested, is used to this day in by far the largest number of institutions for the deaf and dumb.

In 1815 Rev. Thomas H. Gallaudet, a young and highly educated clergyman, went to Europe to learn the system of instruction practiced there, being led to do so by the interest he took in the little deaf-mute daughter of one of his friends, a physician of Hartford, Conn. He was warmly welcomed at Paris by Sicard, the successor of de l'Epee; and after spending some time there, returned to America, accompanied by Laurent Clerc, a deaf-mute, and one of Sicard's best instructors. On April 15, 1817, the American Asylum for the Deaf and Dumb, under the charge of Gallaudet, with Clerc as his first assistant teacher, was established at Hartford, Conn. As years went by, and the knowledge of this institution spread over the country, other institutions were established, until now there is scarcely a State in the Union that has not its own institution for the deaf and dumb. These institutions are supported by the several States in which they are located, and are generally and wrongfully classed among the State charities—wrongfully, because the deaf-mute is no more educated by charity than the hearing child educated in public schools supported by general taxation.

The rapid increase of institutions in this country and the general success of the efforts at a gradually elevated standard of education suggested to some of those most interested in the deaf and dumb the idea that there was a sufficient number capable of receiving a collegiate education to justify the establishment of a national college for deaf-mutes. The Columbia Institution, being located at Washington, D. C., and supported by the United States, was selected as a peculiarly appropriate place for the carrying out of the idea of the national character of the undertaking; and a department in it was organized, in 1864, as the "National Deaf-mute College," and authorized by the Congress of the United States "to grant such degrees in the liberal arts and sciences as are usually granted and conferred in colleges." In June 1864, the college was publicly inaugurated, with Edward M. Gallaudet as president. In the fall of the same year, five students, representing four States, were admitted; and the college actually began its work of usefulness. The first commencement took place June 23, 1869, and three young men graduated and received the degree of Bachelor of Arts. Since then there have been four commencements, and nineteen young men have graduated and received degrees. The first graduate received his degree in 1866 (after a selected course of two years) making the whole number of graduates twenty-three.

The buildings of the Columbia Institution are situated on an estate of one hundred acres, the title to which is vested in the United States as trustee, so that while the grounds and buildings belong to the United States they can only be used for the instruction of the deaf and dumb, the purpose for which they were originally purchased and erected. This estate was formerly the property of the Hon. Amos Kendall, the founder of the Columbia Institution, and is known as "Kendall Green." It is located on the line of the Baltimore and Ohio railroad, about two miles from the

center of the city of Washington, D. C. There are two buildings which properly belong to the college department, viz: The "college building," containing the sleeping rooms of the students and one or two recitation rooms; and the "main-central building," containing the chapel, a recitation room, and two dining-rooms. The lower part of the building contains the kitchen, &c., and the laundry. The main building is faced on all sides with Connecticut brownstone, interspersed with courses of Ohio sandstone and covered with roofs of red and blue slate, laid in patterns and courses. The college building is as yet incomplete. The section already finished is built of pressed bricks, with brownstone trimmings. Work is to begin on the remaining sections the coming fall; and it is expected that the whole building will be ready for occupancy by the end of 1875.

The whole institution is supported by special appropriations by the Congress of the United States. Residents of the District of Columbia and the children of soldiers and sailors are admitted free to both the institution and the college. Congress also makes such provision for others that thus far the board of directors have been enabled to render assistance to all deserving applicants who have asked admission.

The course of study pursued in the college is essentially the same as that pursued in our best colleges, and the qualifications for admission are the same. It has been found desirable to make certain unimportant modifications, in order to better adapt the usual course to the peculiar wants of the deaf and dumb. The faculty are constantly striving to elevate the standard; and no year has passed since the inauguration of the college without showing important changes and improvements in this respect.

The college is the natural outgrowth of the efforts to instruct the deaf and dumb begun so long ago by Ponce de Leon. When the time came that deaf-mutes showed themselves capable of re-

ceiving a high education there were not wanting those who understood and appreciated, and who had the understanding and the will to raise the standard. Dr. Thomas Gallaudet used to say that the time would come when there would be a college for the deaf and dumb. Others thought as he did; and as the pupils showed the capacity for them, high classes, corresponding in some respects to the high schools of the public school system, were organized in many of the institutions all over the country. The establishment of the college was the next step; and it is hoped that the time will come when every institution will have its high class, in which its pupils will be fitted to step directly into the freshman class of the college. That time has not yet arrived, however; and there is in connection with the college a preparatory class, in which students are fitted to enter the college by the college faculty. This class is made necessary by the fact that, as yet, only the largest institutions have high classes. When young men have been through a high class they usually enter the college without difficulty; and this warrants the belief that the preparatory class will eventually become unnecessary.

By far the larger number of those who apply for admission to the college enter the preparatory class; a large proportion of these never enter the college at all, and of those who do, some leave before completing the regular course of four years. This fact brings into notice a very important work that the college is doing, and which is, in some respects, distinct from the ordinary work of colleges in general. The institution, taking the place of home and parents, as it necessarily does to the deaf-mute, for so long a time, can not but have a tendency to confuse his mind respecting his obligation to himself and to society. Moreover, from his birth to the time when his education is finished, and he goes out into the world to care for himself, he is, to a great extent, shut off from that education which we all uncon-

sciously derive from intercourse with the many different individuals with whom we have to do, and which we do not perceive until its absence in others shows us how important it is. Until their education is finished, the deaf and dumb are compelled to live apart from other men in a world of their own. Another tendency of institution life is to confirm this necessity; and it is just here that the college steps in and exerts its influence to counteract these unavoidable evils. Young men come to the college from all parts of the country. The college teaches them that they are as well able to take care of themselves as other men. It teaches them that they are the equals of all men, except in the one inability to hear and speak, and that, therefore, they may attempt what has hitherto been untried by their predecessors, and that they must expect no favors because they are deaf. It teaches that, with a few unimportant exceptions, there is no field of labor from which they are debarred by their deafness. The training, the treatment, (for they are treated as young men, and not as children,) everything is so different from their bringing up, that, while a great many never graduate, all, without exception, are benefited; and the class to which they belong are made, in the language of the first college circular, "better men and better citizens."

The number of students under instruction during the year ending June 30, 1874, was forty-seven, representing seventeen States and the District of Columbia. Of these sixteen were in the preparatory class, nine were pursuing a selected course, and the remainder made up the four classes in the college. Probably an intimate acquaintance with these students would show that they greatly resemble their hearing brethren in other colleges. They have a reading-room, which is supported by annual fees, and in which are to be found the leading newspapers and magazines from all parts of the country. "The Literary Society of the National Deaf-Mute College"

meets every two weeks. It is similar in its objects and meetings to those of other colleges. It has quite a creditable and growing library. The students take the usual interest in base ball, foot ball, and other athletic exercises; and a year or two ago there were several flourishing class secret societies.

That the college was a success, and supplied a want felt by many, was long ago established. Its graduates have secured honorable and lucrative positions—most of them as teachers of the deaf and dumb; and the others in one or another of the many fields opened to them by their college education. A large proportion of the so-called deaf and dumb are those who have lost the ability to hear after learning to speak. To all such the college is a boon, indeed. Before it existed, many of them had to go through life with an unsatisfied longing for the very education that they may now obtain through the college. That they had this longing no one will deny, when it is remembered that they were in all respects like hearing people; the loss of hearing having come suddenly, as when a leg or an arm is amputated, and leaving them, in all respects, the same as they were before, except that they could not hear. The college would not exist in vain if these were the only persons benefited by it. How much more, then, does it seem necessary when we remember that some of its most talented graduates have been deaf and dumb from birth, and that, therefore, it is as great a boon to one class as to the other.

THE total yield of precious metals on the Pacific coast since the discovery of gold in California in 1848 has been nearly \$1,600,000,000. Of this sum California has produced about \$1,094,919,098; Nevada, \$221,402,412; Utah, \$18,527,527; Montana, \$119,308,147; Idaho, \$57,249,197; Colorado, \$30,000,000; Oregon and Washington, \$25,501,250; British Columbia, \$9,000,000; and Arizona, \$5,000,000.

OUR PUBLIC MEN.

SENATOR CHANDLER.

As this gentleman is about to be brought again before the people of Michigan as a candidate for re-election to the Senate of the United States, it may be well to call to mind some of the considerations which lead us to hope that he will be sustained in the future as in the past by those whom he has served so well. His life, name, fortune, private energy, and public enterprise have long been known to the country. A native of New Hampshire, he many years ago settled in Michigan, where he has won all his triumphs as a private citizen and a public man. He was bred a merchant, and has acquired a large fortune, which enables him to give his time to public affairs, though very much to the detriment of his personal concerns. Had he refused the public service of his country for the purpose of augmenting his own estate there is probably no man of our times who could outstrip him in those business qualities which are necessary to the highest success. But he has been willing to devote to the interest of the Republic the very best years of his life and to make his private fortune a matter of secondary moment. He was made mayor of Detroit in 1851, and he succeeded General Cass in the Senate of the United States in the Thirty-fifth Congress. He was re-elected to the Senate in 1863, and again in 1869. During this long and eventful period he has borne a most conspicuous and effective part. A member of several of the most important committees, he has long been at the head of the Committee on Commerce, and in peace and war has shown himself fully adequate for every emergency. The honor done him by the great national party in power in placing him on the National Executive Republican Committee, as well as the powerful and uninterrupted service he has rendered for many years, is a proof of the estimation in which he is held throughout the

country by the strongest men of the Republican party. The Senator is not much given to speech-making, but when he does speak it is always sensible and directly to the purpose. He is generous and chivalrous in all his bearing, and bold and resolute in doing whatever in his view of duty is required to be done. He was, as is well known, everywhere one of the most advanced of the Spartan band in the Senate of the United States at the time when a fearful civil war was impending and when threats of the destruction of the Union were made on every hand. Then amid the timid he was brave, amid the bewildered he was not confused. He saw clearly through the obscurity of the rising storm, and while deploring its necessity he accepted the wager of battle without the trembling of a muscle or the shuddering of a nerve. He knew what it would cost, but he knew, too, what grand results would be secured. Senator Chandler is a thorough and successful statesman, and has done much for the party and the country by his powerful will and invincible purpose. Whatever he undertakes he is generally able to accomplish. He embarks in every enterprise all his soul and whatever means are demanded for its triumph. When during the late war, and subsequently, the hearts of his countrymen sank within them, and despondency seemed the spirit which ruled the hour, his voice has been heard always crying out cheerily and rousing again to action the flagging energy of the people. Senator Chandler's views are generally sound and clear on all subjects touching the national welfare, and his judgment as a practical business man and one who has long studied and worked the financial problem is worthy of the serious consideration of the nation. His great experience commercially and financially is sorely needed in these times to aid in framing wise and profitable laws for the country. It would be a great loss to the

councils of the nation if Senator Chandler should not now be returned to the seat he has held so honorably and so long.

Much has been said and written about the private conduct and personal habits of this distinguished man. But whenever specific charges have been made against him he has invariably pursued the accuser to his destruction. It will not do for cunning malice or private pique to assail Senator Chandler with no other foundation for the assault than those base feelings and motives which actuate the calumniator and black-mailer of the present day. He is not the man to be plucked by any kind of rascality like this, as several who have tried it on him have already found to their sorrow. He is doing immense good in this direction by restraining the licentiousness of the press and bringing the spirit of political strife and party emulation within the bounds of legitimate and honorable controversy. The State of Michigan can certainly do no better than to return to his seat in the Senate her now most distinguished citizen, and the whole country will rejoice that a man whose honesty and faith to trusts imposed in him are above suspicion has been retained in the public councils of the nation.

SENATOR RAMSEY.

This gentleman's term in the United States Senate will expire in March, 1875. The people of Minnesota are now called to prepare for the choice of his successor. Have they any man in the whole State who may be regarded as one more worthy than himself? Senator Alexander Ramsey is a native of Dauphin county, Pennsylvania, and is now not quite sixty years of age. He is just in the prime of life, of large experience and sound judgment. Having been prominent in the political affairs of his native State for several years, he was made the first Territorial Governor of Minnesota by President Taylor. He was highly successful in treating with the various powerful tribes of Indians by which the

United States Government acquired a full title to some of the finest portions of the public domain. In 1855 he was made mayor of St. Paul, and in 1858 he was elected Governor of the new State, in which office he continued till 1862, when he was elected from that to the Senate of the United States. He is about concluding his second term in this high office. He has served his constituents and the country with singular fidelity. He has been a member of some of the most important committees of the Senate, and for some time past chairman of the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, a position of great labor and responsibility. He has likewise been an active and influential member of the Naval Committee, as well as that of Patents and the Patent Office, that on Expenses in the Senate, that on the Pacific Railroad, and on Revolutionary Pensions and Revolutionary Claims. He was with Senator Chandler and others on the national committee having charge of the remains of the lamented Lincoln when borne home from Washington to their last resting place. Senator Ramsey is in some respects the very opposite of Chandler. The latter may be said to be the very Bayard of the Republican party, while Senator Ramsey shows his merit more by the steady, stern assiduity of his many labors, being always a quiet and reserved man, who seldom speaks even in personal conversation except in slow and measured terms, but who is ever ready with unswerving loyalty to support any measure that promises well for the public good, and at the same time may reflect credit on the great party of which both these men are distinguished representatives. Chandler is more demonstrative and possesses certain defiant qualities which tell amazingly for the fortunes of his cause in a sudden and decisive emergency. But both men are intrepid and resolute where necessity requires and where prompt and efficient action alone will turn the scale. Senator Ramsey is a man of the purest habits, and has car-

ried himself in his long public career without reproach and even without suspicion. It will be a great loss to the public councils if he should now not be returned to the Senate. The country itself no more than the party to which he belongs can afford to lose the services of such men now when so many new and important questions are pressing on the attention of all classes in every section of the land. Every consideration of patriotism and policy would seem to urge that he should be sent back to his place in the Senate. It is our earnest hope that both he and Senator Chandler may secure the undivided suffrage of Republicans in their respective States. Every effort will undoubtedly be made by the opposition to defeat them. But they have fairly earned the honor of reelection, and they are both just now in the maturity of their usefulness. To them, personally, the advantage of private life would be very great, as each of them has a large private business which he has more or less neglected in the long public service in which they have been engaged. But if they are willing to forego the more successful prosecution of their private affairs still to benefit the country by their earnest labors, it would seem a calamity to be averted not to have them promptly returned to the positions they have so long held with distinguished ability and honesty. Such men become indeed a part of our institutions, and now that the most infamous attempts are made on the part of the so-called independent press to defeat and lay aside some of the best men and wisest statesmen of the land, there should be no effort spared to maintain those who have been severely tested and have proved like pure gold. Let a lesson be taught to the power of a mendacious and slanderous press which they sadly need to learn, and that is that the calm and intelligent judgment of the people is not to be swayed by any combination of scurrility and falsehood. This is what is now needed both for the purity and stability of American poli-

tics. The greatest danger to our institutions now arises from the combinations of an unprincipled and licentious journalism, whose sole object is pecuniary gain at the sacrifice of all honor, justice, and truth. But so long as the merits of such men as Ramsey and Chandler can be recognized by the political majority, and so long as such men can be called to the conduct of public affairs, the Republic will yet flourish and the great interests of the country will be substantially promoted.

DEMOCRACY.—There are persons still living who firmly believe that the old frigate Constitution could, in a fair sea-fight, sink the best iron clad that floats. They forget that time has wrought changes, and refuse to believe that the glorious old ship that carried our flag through a hundred victories has become so rotten in her timbers and worm eaten in her planks that a first-class wave would destroy what once defied the heaviest guns of England. So with the old Democratic ship. It has its warm admirers who believe it as strong as when Jefferson launched it, and as capable of great triumphs as when Jackson won for its name honor and glory. They forget that time has dealt unkindly with what was once strong and praiseworthy, that the oak ribs of Jackson's time have hardly strength enough to hold the paint and putty of these latter days. It is no injustice to its early record to say that the old hulk is thoroughly rotten, as unfit to be the flag-ship of public policy as a sieve would be to cross the ocean in a gale of wind. We have nothing but praise to bestow on the earlier days of Democracy. We make war, not on its honorable record, but on its dishonorable career. If we are glad to remember that it once felt the influence of patriots, and statesmen, and earnest friends of freedom, we can not thereby shut out the fact of its degeneracy or blind ourselves to the knowledge of its present management and its recent treasonable efforts to destroy what it once helped to

build. We support the Republican party for what it is to-day, and boast of its glorious past because its present is no dishonor to it. What the party was it now is, and we hope will be a score of years to come.

We denounce Democracy for what it has done during the past fifteen years of our national life, and for what it is now doing where it has the power to act. We believe that it is the enemy of good government and that its return to power would do more harm than a second rebellion.

Who can hesitate in making choice between Democracy and Republicanism?

Surely no true friend of his country can turn his back on a party whose past and present record are equally worthy of praise, and whose capacity for every needed governmental reform is greater than ever. To permit Democracy, with its recent infamous political record, to come again into power would show, on the part of the American character, a degeneracy which we hope will not be recorded for at least a century to come. We have faith in the Republic, and in the noble party which now guides it to a higher plane of civilization. The ascendancy of the Republican party means the future glory of the nation.

THE REAL AND ONLY ISSUE.

There are in reality but two issues before the people. They are, whether the party in power has been so derelict to its great trust that it ought not to be retained, or whether the party in opposition has made for itself, in or out of power, so excellent a record that it should again receive the public confidence. All other issues are but details of administration; questions of policy to be settled within one or both of organized party lines. Economic theories are the work of theorists and schools. Parties are modified and influenced, but not organized on them. Those that are now marching to the front are powerfully influencing both the great parties, but they will divide neither. The real issue is, which of these two political organizations can be most fairly trusted. It must be one or the other. Colonel Wm. Grosvenor, of St. Louis, by many regarded as the inspiring brain of the "Liberal" movement, as first indicated and before it committed *hari-kari* by the nomination of Mr. Greeley, said in substance a year ago that as an original Republican, whenever he saw that the issue was one between the general record of the two old parties, he should be as before, a Republican in earnestness of spirit. Colonel Grosvenor only expressed

what the sincere men of the so-called "Liberal" movement all feel. There is nothing in any one of the pretenses at reform put forth by the Democracy but the most abject and craving lust of power. Their whole career in opposition presents a striking series of proof. Their loyalty during the war was stunted by their determination to pander to such prejudices and policies as slavery had created in the North, and nullified, even in this penurious measure, by their desire to condone treason with political alliance, and rebuild that unclean temple of power the honest indignation of the Northern masses had overthrown. To this end hostility to the war was made a party shibboleth. Where most rampant it manifested itself in the wickedest of riots, the participants in which, reeking with the fumes of their own thuggery, were addressed by the foremost Democratic statesman—the Governor of a great State—as "My friends." It was an unconscious satire on his political associations, worthy of Juvenal himself. To the end of rebuilding power through open treason and secret sympathy the party in opposition declared the war a failure on the very day that the guns of Grant at Vicksburg and those of Meade at Gettysburg proclaimed that the Con-

federate shell was broken by those defeats. While their Southern allies were alike robbing "the cradle and the grave" to defend the fetid carcasses of slavery and disunion, the Northern branch of their forces was giving aid and comfort to the enemy by such declarations. When the rebellion was defeated, it was not the Democracy who led or followed in the rejoicings. The only response they gave was to regird their loins to hinder a peaceful restoration and to impede the hoped for regeneration of the South. Whatever hindered or embarrassed Republican effort to this desirable end sprung from Democratic opposition, and where sincerely resisted it was by arguments based upon old time Democratic theories and policies. So it has been all through.

It is Democracy that has hindered Southern restoration and progress. The opposition to emancipation came from that source. From that source was the antagonism that hindered enfranchisement. It was Democratic friendship for sectional politics that formed the Kuklux into horrible reality. It is their continued hatred of national ideas based upon the civic equality of all—that cardinal principle on which alone the Republic can stand—that has fomented the race issue and organized the iniquitous "White Leagues." The Democracy stands only as an agency for destruction. Its highest virtue is retropection. Its best methods are only critical. It has nothing to offer, if in power, except to undo. And the only result so far achieved by it as the party of opposition is to arouse race-hatreds and fan into renewed flames the fires of sectional strife, whenever evidence was given of a probable smouldering and dying out. It accepts no national issue. It knows nothing but the dead past. It can only hinder, and then cry aloud in scorn at the troubles which itself has largely fomented. Its chief strategy is to raise false issues, and the final punishment its managers always receive is to see their best laid plans overthrown

by the spirit they raise but can not control. "They raise the whirlwind" and reap, but can not control, the storm.

Whatever may be the derelictions of the party in power there can be but one choice among all those who prefer the rule of civil liberty to class and race oppressions and inequalities; who desire a national rather than sectional spirit controlling the Government; who want legislation to be unmarred by cunningly devised attempts at nullifying those ordinances of freedom which are the result of our struggles and sacrifices; who desire to see protection accorded to the humblest; the right of free locomotion maintained; who oppose civic serfdom as they did chattel slavery; who want progress the rule and education as broad and free as the ægis of the Union—we say that with such issues there can be but one choice for the people who desire peace and liberty—as regulated by law and provided for in the Constitution. Such are the real issues. There can be no doubt of it. Good citizens have got to face it, and go to the ballot box determined that the next Congress shall not be transferred to the hands of the party whose only aim is power, and whose steadfast policy is to go backward just as far and fast as it dare.

"THE GOOD OLD TIMES."—We shall soon hear from a thousand stumps the Democratic clamor for a return to "the good old times." Many a hungry politician will hear the sound and believe it the promise of the good time coming when the cry, "I am a Democrat!" will open to the faithful the fattest offices of the land. No doubt Tweed, the dethroned king of Tammany, as he sits with striped suit and shaved head in his forced retirement and moralizes over the degeneracy of the times, looks forward to the hour when the Democratic wand shall open his prison doors and reinstate him in the political kingdom which he lost. We have no desire to welcome the return of the "good old times." We have had enough of them. They cost us over \$3,000,000,000 and over half a million

lives. We are doing our best to repair the injury, and hope in less than a score of years to wipe out the last trace of Democratic misrule. We have reduced the debt nearly \$400,000,000 in a little over five years, and shall continue its reduction until every cent is paid. But we protest against the return of the times which forced this burden on the nation. Once in a thousand years we might endure a like experience, but to

go through it again during the present century would tax good nature beyond the point of endurance. We might live through an epidemic, be tranquil over the escape of Tweed, read the details of the Brooklyn scandal every day in the year, but nothing short of a direct interposition of Providence could make us submit with cheerfulness to the good old times of Democracy. May the sacrifice never be called for.

THE TWO PARTIES—WHICH SHALL WE TRUST?

The Republicans are in power and the Democrats are out. This is the sum and substance of the situation—as between the two organizations. There are differences, of course, as obvious as those between heaven and hell. And there are discontented elements in the camp of the one in power. Just here lies the strategy of the opposition. They have no chance as by themselves or on their own record. The last thing they want is to stand on that record. Whenever forced to do so they find themselves ignominiously defeated. Their only hope lies in presumed discontent within the Republican camp. This they seek to foment by every possible trick. Like their Confederate allies of “*lang syne*,” they are quite ready to strip the Union dead of their Federal uniform, and place the same on the backs of their own guerrillas, in order to enable the latter to arrange ambuscades and surprises with more ease and safety.

What is to be guarded against is whether or not there is aught but treachery involved in Democratic pretenses of sympathy with those who claim that the Republican party is not sufficiently progressive to satisfy their views or the necessities of the country. As we take note of such discontent, it arises from causes far other than such as the Democracy can handle. The general drift of all the discussion on transportation, monopolies, and legislation, tariff and revenue, &c., &c.—the whole brood, in

fact, of economic issues which have grown out of the new conditions consequent upon the rise and progress of a complex and scientific order of production and wealth-making—and of the remedies which are demanded to correct evils that arise from such conditions, are altogether of a different character from those which have shaped the views, traditions, and policy, or animate the present hopes of the Democratic party. It is said, sarcastically, of the American that “no people forget yesterday” so readily; but it is not possible that the half century of Democratic rule is obliterated from the average mind. The “Granger,” the “Farmers’ Club” orators, the managers of cheap transportation associations, the would-be organizers of the working producers of the land, on issues such as we have named and indicated, do not surely expect to find support from a party which is obliged fundamentally to repudiate the idea of all national interference; which must accept the doctrine of *laissez faire*, or repudiate its own principles. Not a very difficult thing to do, we hear some sardonic reader exclaim. But epigrammatic rejoinder is not our present cue. We desire to point out the obvious fact that the Democratic polity precludes that party from any fair discussion of the issues under consideration. Its polity is shaped upon ideas born of communities living and thriving in circumstances altogether different from those

which foster such a brood of legislative and administrative complexities as are involved in the politico-economic issues of our industrial and inventive civilization. The Greek cities and small States, with their simple and direct demands for and assumptions of sovereignty are the prototype. The Swiss cantons of today and the free cities of middle ages are the illustrations, while every middle-aged Democrat in this country, who has any ideas beyond office and plunder, undoubtedly believes that the beneficial culmination of his political theory was found in the public character and primitive politics of the slaveholding and agricultural States at the zenith of their pride and place. Can the men who look for such changes in legislation as will practically assert the sovereignty of the people over the railroads, for instance, expect to find it in the rehabilitation of a party governed by such traditions? Is there any sensible man that does not believe that its triumph will be but a hindrance rather than a benefit? These questions answer themselves. Besides, the Democracy have made no pretense at discussing these matters. They have only criticised the Republicans for so doing.

Now, as to that party's position on these crowding issues. Who will assert that it is unfriendly?

Most of the issues alluded to are new ones in the political arena. Many of them involve questions not heretofore brought into that domain. They can only claim admission or consideration

upon the theory that the progress of industrial machinery and the aggregation of power acquired through the control thereof create forces whose unrestricted exercise by individuals, personal or corporate, makes such individuals dangerous alike to citizen and State. The thoughtful man will at once say that it is the mark of wisdom to go slow in such directions. It is an almost unknown domain, which politicians and statesmen are asked to explore. The expedient thing to do in politics is to consider well the fundamental ideas and the following history of the several organizations, and support that one which has shown its readiness to accept, consider, and discuss all new questions, and to place in its platforms and actions that portion which commends itself as in the line of liberty, law, and progress. Will any candid person deny that the Republican party has not always stood ready to accept and sustain whatever so commends itself? A great party is not a school of *doctrinaires*, it is a practical compromise. It is not an academy to teach the philosophy of government, but an organization aiming to successfully embody in government and law the best average view of its members. That party organization is the most useful and sure to be longest lived which, within the scope of its avowed purposes, yet has the readiest ear for new demands, gives the freest opportunity for their expression, and welcomes most heartily those which commend themselves to the average political sense of the masses.

THE ALABAMA DEMOCRATIC AND REPUBLICAN STATE CONVENTIONS.

The Democratic party held their State convention at Montgomery, Alabama, a few weeks ago, and declared in favor of White Leagues and the white man's ticket. We have the first fruits of the spirit manifested at the convention in the murder of Walter P. Billings, a young lawyer, who, in quest of a climate

better adapted to the delicate condition of his health, had recently removed from Missouri to Sumter county, Alabama, where he purchased a small plantation and commenced business. On the evening of the 8th of August he addressed a Republican meeting. At the close of the meeting at 5 o'clock in the after-

noon he started to return to his plantation, about twelve miles off. On reaching a thick wood a quarter of a mile from his own house he was fired upon by the Kuklux. A wail and a shout were heard by parties at a distance, and on the following morning Mr. Billings and his horse were found lying dead upon the road, he with nineteen buckshot in his body. Just previous to this Chancellor Felder and Colonel Seawell were fired on by a mob of outlaws near Greenville, for no offense, except that the Chancellor had made a Republican speech in the court-house.

The lives of these men were saved by the timely arrival of the sheriff and posse. These are some of the first fruits of the revival of the Kuklux under the garb of "White Leagues." On the other hand, the Republicans, white and colored, are using every fair means in their power to prevent rioting and preserve the peace.

The Republican party held their State convention at Montgomery on the 21st of August, a few weeks subsequent to the Democratic State Convention at the same place. They plead only for political equality, law, and order. The resolutions are confined mainly to this absorbing problem, justice to the colored race. The first announces that "the Republican party of Alabama, in State convention assembled, again declares its unshaken confidence and its unalterable devotion to the great principles of human liberty which called it into existence, viz: The civil and political equality of all men, without distinction on account of race or color."

But that they may not be misunderstood or misrepresented, the declaration is made in the second resolution that "In the practical application of these principles we have neither claimed or desired the social equality of the different races, or of individuals of the same race, neither do we claim or desire it now, and all assertions to the contrary are without the slightest foundation." And they add: "In point of fact we

regret the issue of race against race which is tendered us by the Democratic party as fraught with incalculable evils to our whole people, which sows the seeds of ruin to all our national, social, and political interests, and which, if persisted in by that party steadily, will plunge us again into war with the Government of the United States."

In the third resolution they disclaim all sympathy with the race issue. Say they: "We have not made a race issue in the past, neither do we make or tender such an issue. What we demand for one man we demand for all, without distinction of race or color." The fourth resolution fastens the race issue and its results where they belong in the following declaration: "The race issue now tendered by the Democracy of Alabama is but the outcropping, and is the natural sequence, of the ambitious spirit which led a peaceful people into a war with their Government in 1861; which, during that war, rode rough shod over the people of the South, and after the war perpetuated its carnival of blood by a course of crime in the Kuklux Klans, which, in the extent of its organization, the numbers involved in it, the multiplicity and heinousness of its crimes, and the manner of their commission, finds no parallel on the rolls of human infamy. It is now as it was then, each in its different mode of resistance to the Constitution and laws of the land. Again they will repeat the same acts, with vengeance sharpened and envenomed by continued and repeated persistence in wrong."

The fifth resolution defines the position of the Republican party in reference to the question of mixed schools. They say: "We neither desire nor seek the invasion of the rights of the white people by the colored. We only ask equal advantages in matters of public and common rights. This we consider to be all that is embraced in the civil-rights bill, and, in order that we may be understood and no false charges made against us, we hereby declare that the

Republican party does not desire or seek mixed schools or mixed accommodations for the colored people, but they ask that in all of these the advantages shall be equal. We want no special equality enforced by law. We recognize the fact that every home is sacred from intrusion, and that in a free country every one can dictate for himself the line of social exclusion."

The sixth resolution declares that "governments are instituted for the protection of life, liberty, and property," and calls upon the State and Federal governments for a vigorous execution of the laws, and upon the Governor of the

State "to take all the legal means at his command for the purpose of discovering and bringing to trial all persons offending against the laws. Murder by lying in ambush, whether by one or many, must be put an end to, and the peace and security of the humblest home must be respected and protected."

Such is the spirit of the Republican party in Alabama. While their Democratic opponents are laboring to antagonize the races on the civil-rights question, the Republicans are using their influence to spread oil upon the troubled waters and thus preserve the peace.

MIGRATION OF COLORED LABOR.

The long threatened migration of the colored population from Southern States, or portions thereof where they are not in numbers sufficient to overawe all violent influences and prejudices, to others where they are seems to be at last in process of consummation. The leading representative of this class of our fellow citizens, Frederick Douglass, has through his paper, the *New National Era*, advised the systematic migration of this population to indicated States. Such a movement is among the strangest of sociological phenomena, and compels some explanation of its causes other than the speculative ones of the reflex action of race and climate, or the merely social one of being with their own people. As to the latter point there is no real clannishness among colored Americans, outside such as arises from the instinct of self-preservation in its relations to former conditions, as would justify a belief in a wide-spread desire to aggregate themselves in any special States or section of the South. As to the other, all facts and observation indicate quite clearly that while they may suggest a tendency they can never become an impelling force sufficient to produce a race concentration.

The causes, then, of this movement are

found in controlling and present circumstances. What are they? Obviously the answer is: The organized hostility of the whites in the home communities, a hostility manifesting itself in constant attempts to cheat the colored laborer out of his or her wages, in hindering their attempts to earn homesteads on the land, in the innumerable obstacles to their obtaining justice before the courts, barring by every sort of dodge their way to the jury box, and, as in Georgia, perfecting an organized system by which their electoral qualifications are rendered nugatory—practically by violence and terror, keeping or driving them away from the ballot box. Above all these are to be estimated the deliberate efforts made in several States to nullify the provisions for an equal free-school system, found in the new free constitutions and subsequent Republican legislation of the reconstructed States. This nullification proceeds in exactly the same ratio as the Democratic reaction obtains secure control of those States.

We are quite aware that these things are not to be permanent features of Southern State polity. We well understand that the Bourbons are vainly "kicking against the pricks." Our con-

fidence in the free principles which underlie the Republic are such as to make this a certainty to the minds of all thinking men and women who understand the philosophy by which it is supported. Free institutions are sure to conquer. But the folly of their antagonists often hinder, and sometimes "oppression makes wise men mad." The majority of the colored people are no wiser than the common run of ignorant persons, brought up in coarse conditions and subject to all the "stings and arrows of" that "outrageous fortune" which follow and wound the poor and unfortunate. But they are as a race or people shrewder than their fellows. Slavery brought them that compensation. It is not a high type of that quality, but it is a very acute one. With the lurid light of their Past behind and about them, the footfalls and traps of their Present are clearly seen. At the same time such remedies as are simple and direct are retained with the utmost vigor. Only two appear: To maintain the strictest relations, as a citizen, with the political organization which is on their side; and next, to leave the community where they are outraged and go to some other where, if nothing else occurs, their numbers will perforce elbow the white man into a decreasing minority. There is a Nemesis in this latter course which their simple common sense can readily understand. By removal from a planter or neighborhood by whom or in which there is a systematic attempt to cozen them out the reward of their labor, they deprive the employing class of the instruments necessary to make their possessions of value. In other words, the removal or absence of labor must largely decrease if not altogether destroy the value of the land.

The exodus, thus advised and long threatened, is under way. Some of the Southern papers are taking alarm. The more sensible men of the South see in the "Africanization" (as they unjustly phrase it) of four or five States, only the

stagnation for a long period of such States, and the rapid retardation of those from which the colored labor is moving. A great deal is said of the corruption of Republican rule in the South. The enlargement of this theme is part of the Democratic policy. It has the effect of weakening the Northern interest in the negro and disgusting the people there with Southern affairs. In this way the Democracy make fresh advances and hope for new gains. But it may be as well for them, as well as the Republicans, to count the cost.

This colored migration is one of them. The movement exists only in those Southern States in which, during the past three years, the Democratic party have obtained administrative and political control. Three years ago Texas, under Republican control, exhibited the fact that a respectable portion of the large emigration to the "Lone Star" State was made of colored people from southern Georgia and elsewhere. Since then the triumph of the Democracy has not only deprived them of active civic protection, but set the forces of government and neighborhood both against them. The result is seen in the abandonment of Texas by this industrial class. There is no longer any considerable colored emigration there, but a steady stream of that class is pouring out of the State. The thorough triumph of Democracy in Georgia is driving very large numbers of the laborers into other States. Florida and Alabama are receiving considerable accessions. Mississippi is being recruited from Tennessee and Kentucky. The colored people from Arkansas are settling there and in the river parishes of Louisiana. The planter and land-owning interests of Virginia and North Carolina are becoming decidedly alarmed at the prospect, but Bourbon like fail to see that the only remedy is to deal equitably, acknowledge fully the results of the civil war, and go to work man-fashion on the basis of accepted free labor and institutions.

It is quite evident that if this migra-

tion becomes more general that the result will be a permanent supremacy in population of the colored element within the States of South Carolina, Florida, Louisiana, Mississippi, and also in at least the southern and middle portions of Alabama. The conditions that will arise can not be conducive to progress. Capital will not go with them, nor is it likely to remain for a long period to come. It will be inevitable that a race feeling will arise, such as does not now exist, on the part of the colored people. Intelligence, capacity, and ambition will be excluded from office and position except when found under a dark skin. The progress which comes from the contact of persons in different social degrees will be nearly altogether wanting, and the result must be a very slow degree of advancement. "There is a good deal of human nature in the negro," said General Rufus Saxton to some Northern visitors while he was in command at Beaufort, South Carolina, and especially charged with the oversight of the freed people. Human nature, when studied closely, indicates quite clearly what must follow anywhere the concentration of dense masses of ignorant persons, and placed where leadership must become demagogism and advice simply be a pandering.

That the colored migration is justifiable no observer can doubt. Those whose actions are producing these causes will find them "like chickens," sure to "come home and roost." The depletion of labor from the Democratic States of the South can only eventuate in their being set back for twenty years, and will, in a large degree, bring about immediate ruin and bankruptcy. The staple production will fall off, and land will decrease in value, while every other material interest suffers.

There is no one to blame but the Bourbon South. The colored man has a right to defend himself. He has the right of locomotion. Fair dealing and decent regard to his rights are the only remedy.

THE QUESTION TO ANSWER.—The struggle this fall is to be between Republicanism and Democracy. The friends of the latter organization are doing their best by united efforts to bring their party to the front. Republicans must lay aside all side issues until the general one is settled. The nation is called upon to answer this question, "Shall the House of Representatives pass into the hands of Democracy?" We say emphatically, No! It would be a public calamity to permit it. It would paralyze the industrial energies of the country; it would injure our credit; disturb the peace and tranquility of the nation; open the old wounds of injured State pride; and in a hundred ways retard the true growth of the Republic. We call upon the people to send their best men to Congress. Let them be representative Republicans, honest and above suspicion.

IT WON'T WORK.—Some Southern Democratic papers are already counting their chickens before they are hatched. They already see their party in power—in their mind's eye, of course. They are proposing various schemes for their own benefit when that happy time comes. One of these plans has, at least in part, the merit of novelty. It is a renewal of former plans to obtain payment for their slaves. Under this suggestion the General Government through legislation will be required to pay the South for the loss of her slaves at the rate of \$500 for each grown man and woman. Then they will divide this \$500 in this way: One-half to the former owner and one-half to the freedman or woman. This is the novel part of the plan. It is born of the author's appreciation of the political power of the colored citizen, mingled with that mistaken contempt they have always held, which leads them to suppose that the colored voter can be cajoled by so transparent a bribe into supporting them.

THE Ohio new constitution was rejected by a large majority vote in general State election.

STATE CONVENTIONS.

TENNESSEE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION.

The State convention met at Nashville August 19. Eleven names were placed in nomination. After the fourteenth ballot Judge Porter was unanimously nominated by acclamation. The resolutions declare that all "honest labor" should be protected and rewarded; assessments and taxes should be "equal, uniform, and just;" a strict construction of the Constitution of the United States should be observed; oppressive monopolies, rings, and combinations are opposed; all indebtedness, Federal, State, county, and municipal, is deplored; rigid economy is urged in the State administration; the "odious national banking system" should be abolished; the United States bonds should be paid in currency; the "oppressive Federal tariff should be repealed, and a revenue tariff substituted." The resolutions close with the declaration that "we denounce all legislation that seeks to interfere with the individual rights of the citizen to his own associates, and particularly what is known as the supplemental civil rights bill pending before the Federal Congress, as a palpable violation of the Constitution, intended to vex, harass, oppress, and degrade the people of the Southern States, and cause production of untold social and political evils to both races, and which we should resist by all legal and constitutional means in our power."

LOUISIANA DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION.

The State convention met at Baton Rouge August 24. The convention, in its platform or declaration of principles, declares that—

We, the white people of Louisiana, embracing the Democratic party, Conservative party, White Man's party, Liberal party, Reform party, and all others opposed to Kellogg usurpation, do solemnly resolve and declare that the government now existing in Louisiana originated in, and has been maintained by, force and fraud in opposition to the will of a large majority of the voters of the State, in opposition to the principles of the Constitution of the United States, and in violation of every principle of justice and liberty; that the dominant faction of the Radical party in this State

has, by false and fraudulent representations, inflamed the passions and prejudices of the negroes as a race against the whites, and has thereby made it necessary for the white people to unite and act together in self-defense and for the preservation of white civilization; that the rights of all men under the Constitution and laws of the land must be respected and preserved inviolate, irrespective of race, color, or previous condition; but we deny that Congress can constitutionally enact laws to force the two races into social union or equality; that the white people of Louisiana have no desire to deprive the colored people of any rights to which they are entitled; but we are convinced that reform is imperatively demanded, and can only be effected by electing to office white men of known capacity and integrity, and we believe that large numbers of colored citizens will vote with us to secure a government which must be beneficial alike to both races, &c.

There is much more in the same strain. But the declaration that "the rights of all men must be respected," and the refusal to allow the colored race to vote unless they cast their ballots for "the Democratic party, Conservative party, White Man's party, Liberal party, Reform party," &c., smacks of inconsistency. A white man may vote for whom he pleases, and why deprive the colored citizen of the same right? At the close the convention resolved all its numerous parties into the "People's party."

MICHIGAN REPUBLICAN CONVENTION.

At the Republican State Convention assembled at Lansing, August 26, the following nominations were made: For Governor, J. J. Bagley; for Lieutenant Governor, H. H. Holt; for Secretary of State, E. G. D. Holden; for State Treasurer, W. B. McCrery; for Auditor, General Ralph Ely; for Commissioner of the State Land Office, L. A. Clapp, (renominated;) for Superintendent of Public Instruction, D. D. Briggs, (renominated.)

The preamble and resolutions adopted by the convention as a platform were as follows:

We, the delegates representatives of the Republican party in Michigan, assembled in convention in the twentieth year of its organization, appear before the people of this State of the Union after the uninterrupted exercise by that party of all the responsibilities and power during its entire existence, offering no apologies, deprecating no criticism, invoking no charity in the construction of its acts, but challenging a faithful scrutiny of its record through the vicissitudes of war and peace, and

the candid judgment of all just men. In no spirit of vain glory, but in simple deference to history and truth, we assert that, since the Republican party raised its banner at Jackson, in 1844, it has never failed under trials more severe than have beset the history of any other party since the organization of the Government—to stand in the advance line of human and national progress during the turbulent years before the war, throughout the war, and in the unprecedented perplexities which succeeded. It has forfeited none of its pledges to humanity, to the sister States, nor to the interests of our citizens. It has promised the protection of good laws and a faithful administration of them. It has legislated wisely for the development of our abundant resources. It has been liberal in the encouragement of learning and bountiful in providing for the unfortunate. It has persistently cultivated a better civilization, and there is no malignant hand that can point to any of its legislation which may be used to make man worse. At the same time it has been prudent and economical in expenditures, has kept down taxation, has been and is steadily reducing the public indebtedness, and the financial credit of the State under its management is of the highest standard in all the commercial cities of the world. We shall regard it as a good reason for acceding to the statement of our opponents that the mission of the Republican party is ended when we are pointed to a political organization more beneficent in aims, or more devoted or comprehensive in its patriotism; but as long as it leads all other parties, as it has done in the past, it still does in the advancement of good work, in the investigation of grievances, and in the redress of wrongs we can discover no reason for surrendering the reins of power into the hands of a party whose last public service was to drag the country into civil war, to disgrace its financial credit, and to leave the Government on the very brink of dissolution, and which made its last effort to regain the confidence of the people under the lead of its lifelong enemy, in the most brazen, barefaced, and shameless coalition ever known in the history of parties, formed solely and avowedly on the basis of spoils alone. Upon the financial record of the Republican party, alike in the nation and the State, we confidently challenge comparison with any other party which ever held power in either; pointing with just pride to the great and steadily increasing reduction of the national debt and the improvement of the national credit, accompanied by an equally remarkable reduction of taxation and of expenditure in administering the Government. With all this our material interests and general prosperity have enormously increased, and our citizens are better clothed, better fed, and better paid for their labor than any other people in the world. In this State the State Republican management has secured the same blessings of light taxation, economical administration, and rapidly diminishing debt, while our State institutions have been literally built up until they have become the pride of the people. Education, public morality, and the various branches of industry have been fostered, crime has been repressed, suffering alleviated, and the unfortunate provided for. Large and important improvements have been projected and are in process of completion, and every State interest has been generously and economically cared for with such scrupulous honesty in every department of the State government that even partisan calumny dare not bring a specific accusation against any. We fully appreciate the extraordinary character of the financial difficulty through which the country has recently passed, and regard it as inevitable that able and patriotic representatives should have differed, like their constituencies,

as to what where the proper remedies in circumstances wherein they were without specific precedent for guidance. We endorse, as wise and timely, the measure finally agreed upon by Congress between conflicting interests and opposing theories.

While we recognize in the greenbacks and national bank notes a circulating medium far superior to any paper currency heretofore existing in the United States, saving, as it does, the people, directly and indirectly, many millions of dollars annually over the old State bank system, and exchange, and discounts, we demand that in all financial legislation Congress shall keep steadily in view the resumption of specie payments to the end that at the earliest day practicable the promises to pay of the Government may be equivalent to coin in a like amount throughout the commercial world.

We believe that banking, under a well guarded national system, should be free, the volume and locality of issues being regulated by the business law of demand.

We denounce repudiation in every form or degree, holding the pledged faith of the Republic sacred and inviolable in both letter and spirit. We would not forget the claims of the colored people of the South to the nation's fostering care and protection. Wrested from their masters' control, with freedom conferred on them by the Government as a war measure and in aid of the Union cause; given the elective franchise as a means not alone of protection to themselves, but of protection to the nation, it is now the high duty of Government, from which it can not shrink without incurring and deserving the execration of mankind for all time, to protect them in the rights and privileges of their enforced citizenship. Their ignorance is not their fault. Their errors in theory and mistakes in conduct are but the legitimate fruits of their former enslaved condition. The Government assumed the responsibility for evils resulting from this when it clothed them with the full right and privilege of citizens.

We appeal to the National Government, as the good name and fair fame of the nation is dear to it, to protect the people in their civil and political rights, and in their persons, property, and homes, and to provide and secure them in the enjoyment of all educational advantages and privileges.

OHIO DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION.

The State Convention of the Democratic party met at Columbus, August 26. The platform resolutions declare that "the Democratic party of Ohio adheres to its *ancient* principles;" opposes national banks and the payment of United States bonds in gold; insists upon a revenue instead of a protective tariff; is opposed to "combinations and devices" that tend to increase the cost of transportation; is opposed to "excessive taxation;" advocates the freedom of the press, and denounces "gag and sedition laws;" denounces the civil rights bill and mixed schools; opposes a third term and arraigns the Republican party in the following language:

That with this declaration of our principles

and policy we arraign the leaders of the Republican party for their extravagant expenditures and profligate waste of the people's money; for their oppressive, unjust, and defective system of taxation, finance, and currency; for their continued tyranny and cruelty to the Southern States of the Union; for their squandering of the public lands; for their continuance of incompetent and corrupt men in office at home and abroad, and for their general mismanagement of the Government, and we cordially invite all men, without regard to past party associations, to co-operate with us in expelling them from power and in securing such an administration of public affairs as characterized the purer and better days of the Republic.

KANSAS REPUBLICAN CONVENTION.

The State Republican Convention met at Topeka on the 26th of August. Hon. Thomas A. Osborn was nominated for Governor on the second ballot.

A lengthy preamble recites the record of the Republican party from its organization to the present time, especially noting its actions and achievements during the war and subsequent reconstruction and other measures for the welfare of the country, and commending in strong terms its rare courage in investigating official delinquencies and punishing official dishonesty in its ranks, and asserts that—

New issues are constantly arising and the party that desires to live must be ready to provide for their solution. The past not only affords a guarantee that the intelligence which created the Republican party and the patriotism and wisdom that have sustained it are sufficient to provide for the emergencies of the present and make this period date not only the death of slavery, but as well the birth of a comprehensive nationality, the strictest and firmest integrity in official trusts, and just protection of individual rights against corporate power, thorough practical reform in every department of the public service, honestly distributed burdens and honestly exercised powers; therefore,

Resolved, That the powers of the General Government, having been stretched to an unhealthy extent to meet the crisis of civil war and reconstruction, should be restored to their normal action; that the public debt should be reduced, not spasmodically, but gradually and surely, and in a way that will not burden the industries of the country by excessive exactions; that any and all schemes of taxation devised to meet an extraordinary demand should be modified according to the dictates of the strictest principles of economy and justice; that official prodigality, recklessness, and corruption incident to times of waste, irregularity, and convulsion must give place to economy, stability, and honesty; and finally that the only test of political preferment should be capacity and integrity in the discharge of official trust; that as the policy of the Republican party in relation to the finances has afforded the people not only a sound and popular currency of equal and uniform worth in every portion of the Commonwealth, but has greatly improved the credit of the country at home and abroad, we point with pride to its record

and accomplishment in this regard, and while reaffirming the policy announced by the party in the national conventions in 1868 and 1872, and triumphantly indorsed by the people at the polls, a policy which, while contributing to the public credit, has also enhanced the individual and collective prosperity of the American people, we favor such legislation as will make national banking free to all under just laws based upon the policy of specie resumption at such times as may be consistent with the industrial interests of the country, to the end that the volume of currency may be regulated by the natural laws of trade.

Resolved, While all necessary wants of the State government would be supplied by reasonable, just, and uniform taxation, the labor and production of the Commonwealth must not be stopped by the employment and maintenance of too many office holders. Hence it becomes the duty of the Legislature to lessen the number of officials and to make such revision of the laws of the States as to provide for a more economical administration of State and county offices. We are opposed to all official gratuities under the guise of increase of pay or salary during official terms.

Resolved, That the peril of government lies not so much in high ambitions as in low dishonesties, and the pressing duty of the day is to secure honesty and purity in the public service.

We commend the courage of the Republican party in instituting investigations of corruption in office, sparing neither friend nor foe, and we demand such legislation as will bring to certain punishment any officer, who, being entrusted with the charge of public funds appropriates the same to his own use, or fails to properly account for these embezzlements.

Resolved, That all railroad corporations of the State are creatures of its Legislature, and it is the duty of that body to subject them to such wise and important enactments as will protect the people of the State from extortions and will secure the transportation of products, merchandise, and passengers at reasonable rates.

A revision of the patent laws of the United States is imperatively demanded so as to prevent monopoly of useful inventions, and at the same time give proper encouragement and remuneration to inventors.

Resolved, That we commend the action of Congress in repealing the act known as the back pay law, and favor an amendment to the National Constitution which shall forever prohibit any Congress from settling its own compensation.

Resolved, That drunkenness is one of the greatest curses of modern society, demoralizing everything it touches, imposing fearful burdens of taxation upon the people, a fruitful breeder of pauperism and crime, and a worker of evil, and only evil, continually; hence we are in favor of such legislation, both general and local, as experience shall show to be most effectual in destroying this evil.

Resolved, That we rejoice with the citizens residing on the Osage ceded lands over the late decision of the United States Circuit Court in their favor, and point to that decision as evidence that the rights of the people are safe in the hands of the courts.

Resolved, That the unwritten law enacted by the example of the Father of His Country, in declining a re-election to the third Presidential term, is as controlling as though it was incorporated in the National Constitution and ought never to be violated.

Resolved, That the public lands of the United States be sacredly held for the use and benefit of actual settlers, and we condemn and disapprove any further grants of public land to railroad or other corporations.

MISSOURI DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION.

The State Convention met at Jefferson city on the 26th of August. Nomination for Governor, Charles H. Hardin; Lieutenant Governor, Norman J. Coleman.

The resolutions, after reviewing the Democratic administration of State affairs during the last two years, are mainly confined to the same old self-imposed duty of party denunciation of the Republican party.

PENNSYLVANIA DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION.

The Democratic State Convention was held at Pittsburgh on the 26th of August. The Hon. John Latta, of Westmoreland, was nominated for Lieutenant Governor on the fifth ballot.

The resolutions adopted at Pittsburgh denounce the Republican party; declare that prosperity can only be restored to the country by the restoration of the Democratic party to power; oppose the grant of lands to railroads; favor economy in the administration of the Government; recognize the claims of the soldiers' and sailors' widows and orphans; favor a speedy return to specie payment; denounce the civil rights bill and mixed schools for black and white children.

It is the old story of denunciation of the party in power without advancing a new issue or an original idea for the advancement and welfare of the Union. It is strange that the combined wisdom of the Democracy of the old Keystone State should declare that "prosperity can only be restored to the country by the restoration of the Democratic party to power," and then go home without letting us have their ideas as what would be accomplished after they had got control of the reins of Government. Let us have your programme, gentlemen.

NEW JERSEY REPUBLICAN CONVENTION.

The convention met at Trenton on the 27th of August. Hon. Geo. A. Halsey, of Newark, was unanimously nominated on the first ballot for Governor.

The resolutions uphold the principles upon which the party was founded, and which have resulted in the preservation of the Union; in the extinction of slavery; in the reorganization of all the States; in securing equal political rights to all citizens; in the maintenance of the national credit; in the diminution of the public debt; in the reduction of taxes; in the honorable adjustment of foreign complications; in the advancement of the nation in power and dignity abroad and prosperity at home; and in courageous efforts to expose official delinquencies, and promote integrity in public trusts; indorse President Grant, who deserves unabated confidence; and favor such national legislation as will maintain inflexibly the faith of the Government to its creditors, and secure the speedy resumption of specie payments. They are in favor of such a tariff and such equal internal taxation as will afford protection to domestic manufacturers and best promote and encourage the industrial interests of the State. They are in favor of a port of entry at Jersey City, in order to secure to New Jersey the just advantage of her unrivaled harbors, and to facilitate the flow of commerce in its natural channel through her territory. In regard to State affairs they commend and will pursue the measures and policy adopted by the Republican party during its control of the State government, viz: A general railroad system and the consequent diminution of corrupting influences in legislation; the judicious amendment of the State constitution; the generous support of our system of public education; the wise management and liberal extension of public institutions for penal, sanitary, and charitable purposes; and the general promotion of the varied industries of the State, so far as they lie within the sphere of State control.

DELAWARE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION.

The State convention met at Dover on the 27th of August. Hon. John P. Cochran, of New Castle county, was nominated for Governor. The platform of

resolutions renew the allegiance of the party to the State and Federal Governments, declare that the welfare of all classes will be best conserved by obedience to constitutional limitations upon official power, by respect for established laws, and regard for the rights of the community. They protest against the Federal interference in Louisiana; denounce the civil-rights bill; condemn the course of Representative James R. Lofland; denounce the act of Congress enlarging the jurisdiction of the Federal courts of the District of Columbia as a base attempt to muzzle the public press;

approve with pride of the course of the Hon. T. F. Bayard and Hon. Eli Saulsbury, Senators, for their opposition to the civil-rights bill and other pernicious measures, and their defense of constitutional government, freedom of the press, and the rights and honor of their race and State.

OTHER CONVENTIONS.

For a report of the Pennsylvania Republican State convention the reader is referred to page 162 of **THE REPUBLIC**. A review of the platforms of the Alabama Democratic and Republican State conventions will be found on page 183.

POLITICAL CALENDAR.

POLITICAL CONVENTIONS.

September 2—Ohio, Republican, Columbus.
September 2—Nebraska, Republican, Lincoln.
September 9—Minnesota, Republican, Minneapolis.
September 16—Illinois, Democratic, Springfield.
September 23—Minnesota, Independent, St. Paul.
September 24—Nevada, Republican, Winnemucca.
September 28—Nevada, Democratic, Carson.
September 30—Sutro's Independent big ball at Carson, Nevada.

STATE ELECTIONS.

September 1—Election of Congressmen and State officers in Vermont.
September 2—Election of Congressmen in California.
September 9—Massachusetts Democratic State Convention.
September 14—Election of Congressmen and State officers in Maine.
October 13—Election of Congressmen in Indiana, Iowa, and Nebraska.
October 14—Election of Congressmen in Georgia.
October 22—Election of Congressmen in West Virginia.
November 2—Election of Congressmen and State officers in Louisiana.
November 3—Election of Congressmen only in Rhode Island, Arkansas, Florida, Maryland, Minnesota, Mississippi, Virginia, Wisconsin, and Texas; election of both Congressmen and State officers in Massachusetts, Alabama, Delaware, Illinois, Kansas, Michigan, Missouri, New York, New Jersey, Ohio, Nevada, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, and Tennessee.

REPUBLICAN NOMINEES TO CONGRESS.

Name and District.	Residence.
Alex. White.....	Dallas, Ala.
C. C. Sheats.....	Winston, Ala.
1. Jeremiah Haralson.....	Ala.
4. Charles Hays.....	Haysville, Ala.
6. E. F. Jennings.....	Lawrence, Ala.
1. Robert Meacham.....	Monticello, Fla.
2. W. J. Purman.....	Tallahassee, Fla.
1. J. E. Bryant.....	Savannah, Ga.
8. G. L. Fort.....	Lacon, Ill.
11. David E. Beatty.....	Jerseyville, Ill.
13. James McNulta.....	Bloomington, Ill.
14. J. G. Cannon.....	Tuscola, Ill.
15. T. C. Golden.....	Marshall, Ill.

18. Isaac Clements.....	Carbondale, Ill.
3. A. W. Robinson.....	Ind.
4. W. J. Robinson.....	Greensburg, Ind.
5. B. F. Clappool.....	Connersville, Ind.
6. Milton S. Robinson.....	Anderson, Ind.
7. John Coburn.....	Indianapolis, Ind.
8. M. C. Hunter.....	Bloomington, Ind.
9. Thomas J. Casson.....	Lebanon, Ind.
10. W. H. Calkins.....	La Porte, Ind.
11. James K. Evans.....	Noblesville, Ind.
1. George W. McCreary.....	Fort Madison, Iowa.
3. C. T. Granger.....	Allamakee, Iowa.
4. Henry O. Pratt.....	Charles City, Iowa.
5. James Wilson.....	Buckingham, Iowa.
6. E. S. Sampson.....	Sigourney, Iowa.
7. John A. Kasson.....	Des Moines, Iowa.
8. J. W. McDill.....	Afton, Iowa.
9. Addison Oliver.....	Onawa, Iowa.
1. J. H. Sypher.....	New Orleans, La.
2. Henry Dibble.....	New Orleans, La.
3. C. B. Darrell.....	Brashear, La.
4. G. L. Smith.....	Shreveport, La.
5. Frank Morry.....	Monroe, La.
6. C. S. Nash.....	St. Landry, La.
1. John H. Burleigh.....	South Berwick, Me.
2. Wm. P. Frye.....	Lewiston, Me.
3. James G. Blaine.....	Augusta, Me.
4. Samuel F. Hersey.....	Bangor, Me.
5. Eugene Hale.....	Ellsworth, Me.
1. Moses W. Field.....	Detroit, Mich.
2. Henry Waldron.....	Hillsdale, Mich.
3. George Willard.....	Battle Creek, Mich.
5. William B. Williams.....	Allegan, Mich.
6. Josiah W. Begole.....	Flint, Mich.
8. Nathan B. Bradley.....	Bay City, Mich.
5. William W. Phelps.....	Englewood, N. J.
L. Crounse.....	Fort Calhoun, Neb.
6. A. M. Pratt.....	Williams county, Ohio.
7. T. W. Gordon.....	Ohio.
8. William Lawrence.....	Bellefontaine, Ohio.
9. J. W. Robinson.....	Union county, Ohio.
17. L. D. Woodworth.....	Youngstown, Ohio.
18. James Monroe.....	Oberlin, Ohio.
19. J. A. Garfield.....	Hiram, Ohio.
4. William D. Kelley.....	Philadelphia, Pa.
7. Wash. Townsend.....	West Chester, Pa.
12. D. W. Searle.....	Pa.
1. J. B. Sener.....	Fredericksburg, Va.
2. J. H. Platt.....	Norfolk, Va.
1. C. H. Joyce.....	Rutland, Va.
2. L. P. Poland.....	Saint Johnsbury, Vt.
3. George W. Hendee.....	Morristown, Vt.
H. P. H. Bromwell.....	Arapahoe, Col. Ter.
J. P. Kidder.....	Vermillion, Da. Ter.
Cornelius Hedges.....	Montana Ter.
J. M. Carey.....	Wyoming Ter.